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WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND  
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Number 8

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the coöperation of the Classical Association of New England and the Classical Association of the Pacific States

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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## Editorial

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### THE TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

Again has our annual meeting come and gone. Again has been witnessed that gathering of the clans, whose spirit and numbers, wherever the meeting, have always been so fine a proof of the virility of our association. So long have we been enjoying these meetings and so many ties of friendship have been formed among those who perhaps meet at no other time, that the annual meeting has come to resemble Thanksgiving Day or Christmas in that it also seems like a great family gathering, a homecoming day. And each year come many younger members of this family to attend their first annual. We hope they gain all the pleasure and edification from this experience which is surely their due; but perhaps they do not know how especially welcome their presence is to the older members, who begin to wonder as to those who shall come after them, and who rejoice to see these fresh, strong, and enthusiastic recruits flocking to the standard which they themselves have borne so long.

Many such recruits were with us at Urbana. May their faces become familiar among us. Especially pleasing and new as a feature of our formal program was a group of students representing the newly formed national undergraduate classical club, Eta Sigma Phi, whose organization and history were explained by the first president of the national society. With him on the platform was a group of officers and members of the same society representing several of the already formed chapters. These

young people, and Eta Sigma Phi, this splendid new regiment in our army, were joyfully hailed as a new prop to lean on, a new force to use, whose availability we seem never before to have realized in any proper measure.

The program this year had been framed with the view of giving a little more leeway than usual for social intercourse, which we all frankly admit to be of importance equal to that of papers and formal business, since upon the friendship and acquaintances formed among the workers of our far-flung field our morale, our true working spirit, so largely depends.

The weather was abominable. There is no doubt about it. But while this fact caused some temporary and local embarrassment, in retrospect it has melted away long since, even as the snow, and seems not to have caused the slightest halt or cast the slightest damper upon our proceedings or our spirits. In this connection we cannot sufficiently thank the entertaining university for its most cordial hospitality, and the local committee for the meticulous care with which it had prepared for our coming.

While the usual goodly number of members, perhaps above the average, were present, we realize that these were only a fraction of our whole membership. This must always be so, for many causes must always be operating to keep large numbers from attendance. Even so, we fear that it is also true that large numbers have neglected the meetings, even when they have chanced to be within easy reach, through a lack of realization of the great values to be gained by even one experience. We earnestly urge upon all our readers that they resolve upon attendance at the next meeting even if this may prove costly in time and money. Those who know will cheerfully testify that this is the best investment that a teacher can make.

The personnel of the program and the list of papers is already known to our readers, for the program was printed in the *MARCH JOURNAL*. It would be invidious to mention or comment upon individual papers. As many of these as are available will be duly published in the *JOURNAL*. We were rejoiced, however, to meet upon this program some colleagues well known and honored



in their fields but appearing for the first time upon our platform, and to welcome back some who have been among our "best sellers" in former times, but who have not of late been seen among us.

Finally the writer, whose duty and privilege it was to frame this program and direct this meeting, wishes to make grateful acknowledgment of the whole-hearted friendliness and assistance of all those from whom he sought it, as well as the numerous notes of cheerful confidence and good will which came to him all along the way.

## CICERO

### AS HE APPEARS TO DELIVER ONE OF THE PHILIPPICS

---

By RAYMOND F. HAULENBEEK  
Barringer High School  
Newark, New Jersey

---

Here comes the old man. See how worn he looks,  
How weary are his eyes, and yet how proud,  
As if all Rome's war eagles lived in him,  
When thus he gazes on this noisy crowd.

How often the swift impact of his speech  
Has struck and moulded their chaotic thought,  
Like some keen workman's hammer beating gold  
Until the shape his art desires is wrought.

How great he was then, twenty years ago,  
When from our throats he'd thrust the whetted hate  
Of Catiline, and, speech forbidden, gave  
His oath, "I swear that I have saved the state."

Since then his years have flowed, a sullen stream  
Of disappointment, rarely touched with light,  
As on that day when he returned to us  
From exile, and all Rome acclaimed the sight.

Year after year he saw the rugged oak  
Of Roman freedom die, while ruled the three  
And none would heed his warnings, as he strove  
With pen and tongue to make Rome sound and free.

Soon came the Civil War, and Caesar, king  
In fact if not in name, proved all too true  
His warning words. Then while he mourned the death  
Of Roman freedom, death took Tullia too.

Now, all joy gone, alone, the old man stands  
Athwart fierce Antony's ambitious path,  
"Words against swords," and for the Rome he loves,  
Invokes in vain this sodden people's wrath.

No doubt he sees the outcome all too well.  
To coward ears his burning words are flung,  
But his undaunted soul will struggle on,  
Till death stills patriot heart and golden tongue.

## WHERE THE ROMANS LIVED IN THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

---

By RUTH WITHERSTINE  
Smith College

---

Although topography has an important place in our understanding of Latin literature, our editors seldom refer to it. For instance, when we come to the words "*domi meae*" in the eighth chapter of the first oration against Catiline our editors comment only on the locative case or the use of the possessive with the noun and give us no idea to which house Cicero refers. It is the purpose of this paper to study the literary references and the archaeological material, where any exists, to determine the location of the homes of important men during this period. We find that certain districts are favored more than others; some, because they are more accessible; and others, because they are beautiful in themselves or command a fine view. The Aventine, Caelian, Palatine, even the Sacred Way and the Subura, the Carinae, the Esquiline, Quirinal, Viminal, Pincian, the Campus Martius, the Capitoline and the district beyond the Tiber — all these furnish sites for private homes.

There were but few homes on the Aventine from the time that the poet Ennius lived there modestly with one servant (*Hieronymus ad Euseb. a Abr.* 1777; Huelsen, p. 252) until the times of Trajan and Hadrian, who had private homes there before they became emperors (Trajan, *Not. Reg.* XII; Hadrian, *Capit., Vit. Aur.* 5), and Cilo, a distinguished citizen of the time of Severus (*Not. Reg.* XII; *Form. Urb.* fragm. 43). In republican times we know that the Cornifician family lived in this region (*C. I. L.* 15, 7442; Lanciani, *Bull. Comm.* 1891, 210 f; Huelsen, 187). Their family was distinguished for several famous members who



took part in the Catilinarian conspiracy and in the Civil War and for one member whom Cicero regarded highly for his literary judgment (Cic. *Ad Fam.* 12, 17, 18).

The Caelian was a thickly populated quarter at the end of the republic (Cic., *De Off.* 3, 16, 66) and in the time of the early empire many distinguished men made their homes there (Mart. 12, 18, 4). Mamurra, the commander of the engineers with Caesar in Gaul, had a home on the Caelian, which was the first in Rome to have all its walls covered with marble (Pliny, *N. H.* 36, 48). The home of the Piso family stood beside that of the Laterani at the Porta Caelemontana (Cic., *In Pis.* 61; *C. I. L.* 15, 7513). Tacitus (*Ann.* 15, 49) mentions the friendship of these two families, who later became famous for their part in the conspiracy of Piso against Nero.

The Palatine, especially the northeast and northwest sides, which overlook the Forum and the Velabrum, was the chief residential quarter of the wealthy Romans. Latin literature mentions at least fifteen definite houses that were built and inhabited by famous citizens at this time on the Palatine. Only one well-preserved example of a private house of this period remains for us today. This was excavated in 1869 and is generally known as the house of Livia. She has been associated with it for good reason because the lead pipes are stamped "Julia Aug(usta)," her official name after her adoption into the Julian family. The house probably belonged to Livia, the mother of the emperor Tiberius and the wife of Augustus, or to her first husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero. Its preservation is due to the fact that it was soon incorporated into the imperial residence while it still retained its original form. Mr. Richmond believes that it is more probable that Livia possessed this house after the death of Augustus (see Val. Max., 6, 1) and that Augustus acquired it either in the year 40 for Scribonia or in 39 for Livia; also that its "small size and humble position on the rock level suggest the modest house of the Hortensii" (Richmond, "The Roman Palatium," *Jour. Rom. Stud.* IV). The style of the concrete construction proves that this is a republican house, and the frescoed atrium where the lead pipes



room in summer and winter" (Suet., *Aug.* 72, Rolfe). Mr. Richmond thinks that this is the so-called house of Livia, but there is no definite proof. In part of his house on the Palatine, Augustus built the temple of Apollo and joined to it colonnades with Greek and Latin libraries (Suet., *Aug.* 29; Dio Cass. 49, 15). Pinza and Richmond have identified the remains of the temple south of the house of Livia as this temple of Apollo. Augustus vowed it in the year 36 B.C. after his return from Sicily (Vell. Pat. II, 81), but it was not dedicated until 28 B.C. His own house was small, and he planned to enlarge it by purchasing neighboring sites. The senate erected for him at public expense the *domus Palatina* and it was afterwards extended (see map). As the site of the Apollo temple was first bought for an extension of Augustus' house, and the temple occupied ground within the *domus Palatina*, it is clear that the houses and the temple must have been near each other, and that the location of any one of them fixes the locality of them all. The small house dates from a time before 50 B.C., and the larger one as built by the senate, only from 36-29 B.C. Mr. Richmond has identified remains found near the Apollo temple as those of the *domus Palatina*. The palace of Augustus in A.D. 3 extended back from the libraries adjoining the temple and was connected by underground passages, still in use today, with the temple and the house of Livia. There are still remains of these foundations in the red concrete which Augustus used at that period. The belief that L. Sergius Catilina, the conspirator, had a house on the Palatine facing the Circus Maximus and that Augustus incorporated it into his own (Lanciana, *R. and E.* 118) Huelsen believes is based on a false reading of Suet., *De Gramm.* 17.

M. Antonius had a house on the Palatine which afterwards belonged to Messalla and Agrippa. It was burned in 29 B.C., and Agrippa went to live in the house of Augustus (Dio Cass. 53, 27, 5). Mr. Richmond believes that the ruins of the large house with the bath, immediately over which the steps of the temple begin, was the house of Antony on the Palatine. This conjecture is based on the presumption that Antony alone possessed the power

between the years 36 and 29 B.C. to block the site of the temple with such a building.

Gnaeus Octavius had a house on the Palatine which attracted attention because of its beauty. M. Scaurus, the stepson of Sulla, bought it, destroyed the house and built one of his own on the site (Cic., *De Off.* 1, 138; Pliny, *N. H.* 17, 5; 36, 6). Asconius tells us that as one comes down the Sacred Way and continues by the nearest street the house of Scaurus is on the left (Ascon., *In Scaur.* p. 26, 27 Or.).

We know that Verrius Flaccus taught the sons of Julia and Agrippa in the atrium of the house of Q. Lutatius Catulus, then a part of the Palatine property (Suet., *De Gramm.* 17). Catulus, the conqueror of the Cimbri, had built a particularly fine house on the Palatine (Pliny, *N. H.* 17, 2; Varro, *R. R.* 3, 5), and its portico extended over the space made vacant by the destruction of the house of M. Fulvius Flaccus, which had been razed by order of the senate after his execution for a share in the conspiracy of the Gracchi (Cic., *De Domo* 102, 114; Val. Max. 6, 31). The house of Catulus later included a small portion of Cicero's house also, for Cicero himself says that the bare tenth of his property which escaped destruction at the hands of the senate was acquired by Catulus.

In the year 62 Cicero had bought the property of the orator Crassus. This was a home on the Palatine, but not on the highest part, and it had been built by M. Livius Drusus (Vell. 1, 14, 1 and 3; Huelsen 3, 57). There Cicero lived until his exile (Map). When Julius Caesar lived in the Regia as Pontifex Maximus, he wrote of Cicero as his neighbor. The house stood in clear view of nearly the whole of the city (Cic., *De Domo* 37, 100). It was remarkable for its size, the taste of its furniture, and the beauty of its grounds. It was decorated with columns of Hymettian marble, the first to be brought on the Palatine. Pliny tells us that it yielded in magnificence to the house of Q. Catulus on the same hill, and that it was much inferior to that of C. Aquilius on the Viminal (Pl., *N. H.* 17, 5, 6; 36, 7). After Cicero's exile this house was sacked and burned and the site dedicated to the



goddess, Liberty. Cicero says that the marble columns of his Palatine house were taken to the house of Piso, the consul, in the very eyes of the citizens. After his return to Rome the lot upon which the house stood was restored to Cicero by senatorial decree despite Clodius' pious dedication of it, and money was voted to him for the house itself. Cicero must have rebuilt here, for later we are told that his house passed into the hands of C. Marcus Censorinus, the orator, and then to A. Caecina Largus, consul in A.D. 42 with the emperor Claudius (Dio Cass. 60, 10; Ascon., *In Scaur.* p. 27, ed. Orelli; Pliny, *N. H.* 17, 50) and was finally absorbed into the house of Caligula.

While Cicero was rebuilding his house we are told that Clodius attacked and drove away the workmen and tore down the portico of Catulus, which was nearby, and set fire to the house of Quintus Cicero (Cic., *Ad Att.* 4, 3, 2), which had already been injured by stones falling from that of M. Cicero. Catulus' house was, therefore, beside that of Cicero, and Quintus Cicero's was below (Map). Q. Cicero also had a house on the Carinae (Cic., *Ad Q. Fr.* 2, 3, 7).

Clodius too had a house on the Palatine. It was composed of two portions; one of these had actually belonged to Cicero and had been bought after his exile, and the other, the property of Q. Seius Postumus, Clodius secured according to some accounts by poisoning the owner when he refused to sell. This house commanded an excellent view. Clodius planned to make it one of the most magnificent in Rome by erecting a portico and colonnade three hundred feet long with apartments opening from it, so that it would surpass all other men's houses in spaciousness and commanding appearance (Cic., *De Domo* 115, 116). Because he wished to extend this portico, Clodius did not dedicate all of Cicero's house to the goddess, Liberty. These houses must have been near each other and it seems clear, therefore, that this portico extended along the edge of the Palatine above the clivus Victoria (Map). It is probable that near this house of Clodius stood that of P. Cornelius Sulla, which served as the headquarters of Clodius' associates while they were making their assault on the

property of the Ciceros. The house of Milo was not far away on the Cermalus (Cic., *Ad Att.* 4, 3).

M. Caelius, in whose defense Cicero wrote an oration, rented a house on the Palatine at no very high rental, that he might be able to receive the visits of his friends and visit them more easily (Cic., *Pro Caelio* 18). The walls of private houses have been found beneath the ruins of the Flavian palace. Perhaps some of these walls belong to M. Caelius and to other famous men who lived upon the Palatine at this period. The reports of these discoveries have not been published, and visitors are admitted only on special permission. The Valerian family, one of the most ancient and celebrated from the time of Titus Tatius to the late empire, had a house on the Palatine or perhaps nearby on the Velia. It was given at public expense to Valerius Maximus, and when the doors of all other houses were required to open into the vestibule, its doors were allowed to open outward (Plut., *Pub.* 10 and 20; Dionys. 5, 39; Cic., *De Har. Resp.* 8, 16). Inscriptions have been found which seem to show that they had another home on the Caelian (*C. I. L.* VI, 1684-94, 1532).

All the private houses of the republic in the district of the clivus Victoria at the corner of the hill commanding the Forum must have disappeared when Caligula extended the imperial palace as far as the Nova Via and the temple of Castor and Pollux. The houses in the central and southern parts of the hill met a similar fate when Augustus, Tiberius, and Domitian built their palaces.

The great Marius built a house for himself "near the Forum" (Plut., *Mar.* 32), and L. (Annius?) Bellienus, who served with Marius in the war against Jugurtha, had a house "near the Forum," which was burned after the murder of Caesar (Cic., *Phil.* II, 39, 91).

The official residence of the Pontifex Maximus was in the Sacred Way, and there Julius Caesar lived. In earlier days the famous street was thickly populated. Numa, Ancus Marcius, and Tarquinius Superbus lived on, or very near, the street (Solin. I, 22; Pl., *N. H.* 34, 13; Livy 1, 46, 5). At the end of the third century B.C. the people gave a house on the Sacred Way to P.

Scipio Nasica, the famous jurist, that they might consult him more easily (Pompon., *Dig.* 1, 2, 2, 37). The house of the Octavii was near this street (Sallust, *Hist.* fr. 2, 45. Maur. Rossi, *Bull. Comm.* 1889, 351 ff.). Cicero tells us that as he was walking down the Sacred Way he stepped aside into the hall of Tettius Damio to protect himself from the crowd (Cic., *Ad Att.* 4, 3, 3). It is said that a shrine to the deity of fertility, Mutunus Tutunus, on the Velia was removed to make room for the house of Cn. Domitius Calvinus. There were three men known by this name, one of whom was prominent in politics during the first century B.C. (Festus 154; Jordan 1, 2, 419), and it seems likely that the reference is to his house.

In spite of the fact that the Subura was considered the noisiest and the most disreputable street in the city, at least two prominent men lived there. Before he became Pontifex Maximus, Julius Caesar lived in the Subura in a modest house (Suet., *Caes.* 46), which was later inhabited by M. Antonius Gniphio, a distinguished rhetorician, who numbered Cicero among his talented students (Suet., *De Gramm.* 7). Martial (12, 3) mentions L. Arruntius Stella, the poet and friend of Statius, who lived in the Subura.

The Carinae was a fashionable quarter (Ver. 8, 361) where Q. Cicero, Pompey, and others had homes. It is above the Subura in the fourth region on the part of the Esquiline toward the west or southwest which in earlier times was called the Mons Oppius and is now the site of S. Pietro in Vincoli. We know that Q. Cicero had a home here which was rented while he was absent from the city (Cic., *Ad Q. Fr.* 2, 3, 7). Pompey's home in Rome was back of the site later occupied by the basilica of Constantine on the edge of the Carinae, near the temple of Tellus and it was ornamented with rostra taken from captured pirate ships (Suet., *De Gramm.* 15; App., *Bell. Civ.* 2, 126; Vell 2, 77; Cic., *De Har. Resp.* 49; Cic., *Phil.* 2, 68; Jul. Cap., *Vit. Gord.* 3). It is concerning this house that Cicero tells of the threat of Clodius to build a second portico on the Carinae and to treat the house of Pompey there as he had treated the property of Cicero on the

Palatine (Cic., *De Har. Resp.* 49). Pompey's house still existed after the murderers of Caesar had been banished (Flor. Rossbach ed. p. 161). After the death of Pompey it became the property of M. Antony (Velleius 2, 77), who purchased a great part of Pompey's property when it was confiscated, but ultimately refused to pay the purchase price (Rockwood on Vellei. 2, 77 from Peskett's *Cic. Phil.* 2, 62, note). Later Tiberius lived there before he became emperor (Suet., *Tib.* 5) and in the third century it belonged to the Gordians (*Hist. Aug.*, Gor. 2). The paternal home of Mark Antony was also on the Carinae and it was probably at this house that the will of Julius Caesar was opened and read (Suet., *Julius* 83; Dio Cass. 48, 38).

Lenaeus, a freedman of Pompey who possessed a great knowledge of natural history, and who accompanied his patron on nearly all of his expeditions, kept a school in the Carinae, probably in his own home, near the temple of Tellus (Suet., *De Gramm.* 15). L. Marcius Philippus, a consul in 91 B.C. and a distinguished orator, is pictured by Horace (*Epist.* 1, 7, 48 ff.) returning from the Forum to his home on the Carinae. He goes by the Sacred Way, which commenced at the Streniae Sacellum in the Carinae, and complains that his home is so far, but the farthest part of the Carinae can hardly have been more than half a mile from the Forum and of course is immediately above it.

In the first century B.C. private gardens and parks surrounded most of the city, and after the fall of the republic most of these came into the ownership of the emperors. They were most numerous in regions 5 and 7 and on the right bank of the river. Maecenas, the most famous of those who lived on the Esquiline, apparently developed this system first. He leveled the old Esquiline cemetery and covered it with about twenty feet of earth and then laid out his extensive gardens and built his home (Hor., *Sat.* I, 8, 7, 14 and schol.; Tac., *Ann.* 15, 39). Here Maecenas seems to have passed the greater part of his time and to have entertained his friends (Tac., *Ann.* 14, 53; Suet., *Aug.* 72). At his death they became the property of Augustus, and later Nero connected them with his golden house and is said to have watched



the great fire of Rome from one of the towers (Suet., *Nero* 38). The ruins of the so-called auditorium of Maecenas still remain, built directly against the old Servian wall (*B. C.* 1874, 137-166).

Vergil and Propertius also lived on the Esquiline near the gardens of Maecenas (Don., *Vita Ver.* 6; Propert. 3, 23, 23). The younger Pliny had a home here, for Martial directs the Muse to find him at his home on the Esquiline (Pliny 3, 21; Mart. 10, 19, 10). Near the gardens of Maecenas were those of Maianus, of whom we know nothing further, and those of L. Aelius Lamia, an intimate friend of Horace and of Cicero who helped the latter in his suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy. The works of art found here and in the gardens of Maecenas have been placed in separate rooms in the Museo Conservatore. The area covered by these gardens is approximately that of the piazza Vittorio Emanuele. We have ancient descriptions of the magnificence of the buildings here and of the works of art, but only comparatively insignificant remains have been found, rooms of *opus reticulatum*, a nymphaeum, and a part of a porticus (Huelsen 348). Vedius Pollio, a Roman knight and a friend of Augustus noted for his cruelty and his wealth had a home and a large fish pond on the Esquiline. He died in 15 B.C. and left the property to Augustus, who tore it down at once to show his disapproval of such a home and erected the porticus of Livia on the site (Dio Cass. 54, 23; Ov., *Fasti* 6, 639-44; Suet., *Aug.* 29).

Many ruins of private dwellings of the republican period have been found scattered over the whole of the Esquiline district. Often inscriptions, especially those on water pipes, help us to identify them but many times we do not have even this help. By them we know that the house of M. Servilius Fabianus (*C. I. L.* VI, 1557) was south of the Clivus Suburanus and just east of the porticus of Livia; that of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus and Fabia Paulina (*C. I. L.* XV, 7563) was south of the Clivus Suburanus and just inside of the Servian wall, and that of Petronius Maximus (*C. I. L.* VI, 1197-1198) was destroyed to make room for the golden house of Nero. Near the Sette Sale

are the remains of a tenement house called the insula Vitaliana from the name of its builder or of its owner.

The Quirinal and the Viminal were also inhabited by rich and influential families. Remains of private houses have been found in such numbers on these hills as to indicate that they were the most favored sites in the first century B.C. T. Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero, lived on the Quirinal near the temples of Salus and Quirinus. His house was old-fashioned in its appointments, but provided with a beautiful garden (Cic., *Ad Att.* 4, 1; 12, 45; *De Legg.* 1, 3; Nepos, *Att.* 13). T. Pomponius Bassus, curator of the grain supply under Trajan, lived in the southeast corner of the Alta Semita and the clivus Salutis (*C. I. L.* VI, 1492; *B. C.* 1889, 380; *Rh. M.* 1894, 397, 399, 403), and there is every reason to believe that this is the site of the home of the Pomponii from the first.

Julius Caesar had a house at the Porta Collina (*Obsequens* 131). L. Volumnius, consul in 297 B.C., had a house in the Vicus Longus (Livy X, 23, 6). This street ran diagonally across the Via Nazionale southwest of the Baths of Diocletian on the Quirinal.

The famous gardens of Sallust occupied the northwest slope of the Quirinal and the southeast slope of the Pincian as far as the Via Salaria Vetus, extending nearly to the line of the Aurelian wall in one direction and the Campus Agrippa in the other. They were built from the wealth acquired in Numidia (Dio Cass. 43, 9; Sall. 19; Tac., *Ann.* 3, 30; *C. I. L.* VI, 8670-8672, 9005). Within this district many architectural fragments have been found, but usually they cannot be identified. A reservoir was discovered under the Hotel Royal, and another, under the Casino dell' Aurora of the Rospigliosi palace. The marble Ludovisi throne, the famous specimen of Greek archaic art, was found in this region. The gardens contained a group of buildings in Egyptian style of which the obelisk now in front of SS. Trinita de' Monti at the Piazza di Spagna was a part.

Lucullus is the most noted of the dwellers on the Pincian hill. He became almost as celebrated for his luxury here as for his

earlier victory over Mithridates. His gardens were laid out in 60 B.C. on the southern slope of the Pincian between the modern via del Tritone, the via de' Due Macelli, and the via di Porta Pinciana (Front., *De Aq.* 22; Tac., *Ann.* XI, 1, 32, 37; Plut., *Lucull.* 39-31; Cic., *De Legg.* 3, 13; *De Off.* I, 39; B. C. 1891, 153 ff.). His immense wealth allowed him to gratify his love of display and to lay out his gardens in a style of splendor exceeding all that had been known previously. His home contained a banquet hall named Apollo, where Cicero, Pompey, and other men were often entertained at dinner in the most extravagant style. No traces of these buildings remain except some mosaic pavements under the Via Sistina 57 and the Via Gregoriana 46 and some walls under the rear of the Mignanelli palace. Some works of art have been found. Plutarch describes the splendor and tells an interesting story. Cicero meeting Lucullus in the Forum one day asked that he and Pompey be allowed to dine with him that night on one condition, and that was that he would provide for them only what he provided for himself. They permitted him, however, to tell his servant that he would dine that day in the Apollo, and thus he outwitted them without their knowing it. Each of his dining-rooms had a special service and his servants, upon knowing where he wished to dine, knew what sort of dinner to provide. His guests were amazed at the splendor of the banquet which was served and wondered at the immense wealth that would allow Lucullus to dine thus even when alone.

Cicero comments on the extravagance of Lucullus in building homes and wishes that some moderation could be set to the tendency which many Romans showed in copying his work. Pompey also had gardens on this hill, but their location is uncertain (Plut., *Pomp.* 44; *C. I. L.* VI, 6299). The remains of many buildings have been found in this district, but few can be identified. One inscription shows that there was a home of the Postumius family between the gardens of Lucullus and the later ones of Acilius (*Rh. Mus.* 1894, 340). Another gives evidence of one belonging to a certain T. Sextius Africanus in the via del Babuino at the corner of the via del Gesù Maria.

The Campus Martius had but few private homes, that of Pompey being the best known. Up to the time of his third triumph Pompey had a simple and modest house. After that, when he erected the famous and beautiful theatre, he built near it a more splendid home than he had had before. While speaking of Pompey's theatre Plutarch says that his home was like a small boat towed behind a great ship. We know that his house was not large, for when the owner who succeeded Pompey entered, he was surprised and asked where Pompey used to eat (Ascon., *In Milo. arg.* p. 37, Or.; Plut., *Pomp.* 40, 44).

The Capitoline was not a residential section, and yet we know of two homes there. The temple of Juno Moneta was built on the site of the home of M. Manlius Capitolinus, who saved the city from the Gauls in 388 (Livy 6, 28, 7). Later Milo had a home on the slope of the hill (Cic., *Pro Mil.* 24, 64).

In the region across the Tiber private gardens extended from the bank opposite monte Testaccio along the ridge of the Janiculum as far as the mausoleum of Hadrian. Of this group the gardens farthest south were those of Julius Caesar (Cic., *Phil.* 2, 109; Hor., *Sat.* I, 9, 18; Tac., *Ann.* 2, 41; Dio Cass. 44, 35). These were between the Porta Aurelia and the Porta Portuensis and contained within their limits the temple of Fors Fortuna. These gardens were left by Caesar to the Roman people and were thereafter public property. There is no later mention of them, but works of art as well as foundations of buildings have been found within their limits. Some of these have been thought to belong to a temple of the Sun and to porticoes (B. C. 1884, 25-30; 1886, 90-95; *Ann. d. Ist.* 1860, 415-450). Cicero mentions several gardens in this region during republican times: those of Drusus (*Ad Att.* 12, 21, 23, 25), of Lamia (*Ad Att.* 12, 21), of Clodia (*Pro Cael.* 36), of Silius (*Ad Att.* 12, 26, 27), of Scapula (*Ad Att.* 12, 37) and of Cassius. Some of these he thought of buying. M. Regulus had gardens near the Via Aurelia (Pl. *Epist.* 4, 2). The gardens of Antony were near those of Caesar (C. I. L. VI, 9990, 9991; Dio Cass. 47, 40). As examples of these villas and their gardens we may study two that have been



excavated recently near the Alban lake, that of Pompey and that of Clodius ("Le antiche ville dei colli Albani prima della occupazione Domiziana," G. Lugli, *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, 1914, 221 ff.).

These are only a few of the many homes scattered throughout a crowded city, and we may wonder how other men lived. Rome in the time of Cicero was a city of small extent covering a little less than five square miles, which is not quite one-quarter of the borough of Manhattan of New York City. The population of Rome at this time has been variously estimated. Suetonius tells us that the number of recipients of free corn in 46 B.C. was 320,000. This number is generally considered to include only the free, adult, male population. Besides these there were many too prosperous or too proud to accept charity, women and children, and a considerable number of aliens, and a host of slaves. Mr. Rice Holmes concludes on this evidence that the population within the city was not much less than a million, and it may have been two or three thousand more. While this makes the density of population more than twice that of Manhattan and considerably greater than the most crowded parts of London, it is by no means impossible; for a third of the number consisted of slaves whose quarters were very small, and almost all the people comprising the other two-thirds were exceedingly poor and crowded together in large tenement houses on very narrow streets. The climate of Italy also allows much out-of-door living, so that the dwellings of many were little more than a place to eat and sleep (R. Holmes, *The Roman Republic* I, 363. Petersson, *Cicero*, p. 46).

## PARATACTIC *KAI* IN THE NEW TESTAMENT<sup>1</sup>

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The most common paratactic particle, besides *τε*, is *καί*. Of all copulative conjunctions, it is the simplest, and represents words or clauses on a par with each other. This is its original meaning, whatever its original derivation may be. It simply co-ordinates. However, in the words of Dr. Robertson "the context gives other turns to *καί* that are sometimes rather startling" (page 1182). It is the purpose of this brief note to examine some of the "rather startling" meanings attaching to *καί* in the New Testament, and to show that there is classical warrant for the special use of this particle.

We may begin with a line from St. James 4, 2. Here it is at once apparent that the stronger of the two words comes first: *φονεύετε*, "you kill," followed by the weaker, *ζηλοῦτε*, "you covet." Scholars have felt this "anti-climax" and Mr. Ropes has pronounced it simply "impossible." Various devices were resorted to, to eliminate this supposed monstrosity of style. Dr. Belser reduces the meaning of *φονεύετε* to "you hate," bearing in mind, perhaps, the terrible warning of St. John (1 John 3, 15) "every one that hateth his brother is a murderer." So long as a simpler explanation is at hand, such a procedure is doing violence to a simple text. Dr. Moffat boldly changes the MSS. reading *φονεύετε* to *φθονεῖτε*, "you envy" — another piece of violent criticism. Most editors adopt an entirely different punctuation which is probably correct and greatly improves the sense, as Dr. Goodspeed: *ἐπιθυμεῖτε καὶ οὐκ ἔχετε, φονεύετε καὶ ζηλοῦτε καὶ οὐ δύνασθε ἐπιτυχεῖν, μάχεσθε*; "You crave things, and as you cannot have

<sup>1</sup> Read at the annual meeting of the Ohio Classical Conference, at Columbus, November, 1925.

them, *you commit murder. You covet things*, and as you cannot get them, you quarrel."

Still other editors leave the punctuation as above indicated. What then about the "anti-climax?" This is not so impossible as some imagine. There are classical models presenting the same problem.

An illustration may be quoted from Antiphon, *Choreutes* 11. According to Professor Jebb "I invited" refers to the official invitation which was equivalent to a command. *ἡτούμην* softens this down. Hence, he translates thus: "I invited, *or rather* I made a personal request."

Another classical example may be cited from Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 234. Mr. Storr translates:

*Deianira*: — "First tell me what I first would learn, best friend,  
Shall I embrace my Heracles alive?"

*Lichas*: — "Surely, I left him *both alive and hale*,  
In lusty strength and sound in every limb."

Professor Jebb renders: "I, certainly, left him *alive and well*, in vigorous health, unburdened by disease."

Both versions miss the effect of *καί*. *Deianira* wanted to know whether Heracles was alive, *ζῶντα*. *Lichas*, expecting perhaps a handsome *εὐαγγέλιον* from his master's noble wife, answers more than was asked for: *ισχύοντά τε καὶ ζῶντα καὶ θάλλοντα κοῦ νόσῳ βαρύν*, "In lusty strength I left him, *and alive*, in blooming health, unburdened by disease." He puts the stronger word first to reassure *Deianira* from the outset. Here a slight *change of tone* will bring out the effect: "In lusty strength I left him, *besides alive*," or: "In lusty strength I left him, not merely as you say 'alive' — in blooming health, unburdened by disease."

A parallel case is found in Luke 2, 52: "And Jesus advanced in wisdom *and* age, and grace with God and men." So the Douay. The King James Revised: "in wisdom *and* stature and in favor." Dr. Robertson: "Jesus kept making progress in wisdom *and in stature* and in favor." Likewise, Dr. Moffat: "in wisdom *and in stature*." Dr. Goodspeed is the first to break away from the traditional rendering, and assigns to *καί* its idio-

matic force of putting on a par words or phrases which, in the speaker's mind, are really on different levels and belong to different orders. He therefore states the connection between σοφία and ἡλικία more definitely by a slight subordination: "As Jesus grew older he gained in wisdom," using καὶ ἡλικία for what we may call a "foil of correspondence." If I write a biography — no matter how celebrated the subject may be, — I shall not feel obliged to say that the man's greatness was foreshadowed in the boy's youth because — wonderful to relate — "he grew older or taller" every day. Consequently καὶ ἡλικία is stated not in its own right, but merely as a foil to σοφία and χάρις. As the boy grew in age, so in proportion he grew in wisdom and grace, and therein lay the remarkable thing. As for Dr. Goodspeed's translation, I think it may be slightly improved. We may leave the words *as they stand*, and indicate the different orders by a difference in tone: "And Jesus advanced in wisdom — *just as* in age — and grace before God and men." This sudden change of tone the printed page is unable to reproduce, but the *vox viva* supplies the deficiency.

Classical literature provides another model. Euripides represents the mad Heracles as saying: "Give these a tomb *and* shroud the dead." The distressed father *first* gives utterance to the thought uppermost in his mind, violating the natural sequence of events (hysteron proteron) and then expresses the less important, which is really a matter of course: "Give these a tomb, *and*," as a sort of after-thought, "shroud the dead," — of course.

An interesting example is found in *Euthydemus*, 300 d: "He is beaten and done for." So Mr. Gifford. Commentators, on the ground that "the weaker word must come first," a principle the general application of which it would be difficult to demonstrate, have gone so far as to tamper with the text. Mr. Gifford obviates the difficulty by retaining the order in the *text*, but changing it in the *translation*. Is there any necessity for such a change? One need only remember that words bracketed by καὶ are not necessarily co-ordinate in the strict sense. Plato's

thought is something like this: "My brother's done for! He certainly got the worst of it (the argument)!"

The number of classical references could be extended, but one more will be sufficient. *καί* also connects *alternatives* where English idiom requires "or." To establish this sense attention is called to Aristophanes, *Knights*, 800:

"Meanwhile it is I who will nourish him —

And the daily triobol *unjustly or justly* I'll get him."

Unjustly *or* justly=εὖ καὶ ἢ μισῶς=by fair means *or* by foul.

In the light of the classical models which we have examined, what are the possible renderings of James 4, 2: φονεύετε καὶ ζηλοῦτε? [Referring to *Euthydemus*, as a type, we may say: "You kill, or *certainly*, you covet." Following Antiphon, *Choreutes*: "You kill, or *rather* you covet." In both cases there is a softening of a stronger expression. *Heracles Furens*, where *καί* introduces a matter of course, warrants: "You kill *and of course* you covet." Taking a hint from St. Luke 2, 52, we may say: "You kill *as well as* you covet." "You kill *just as* you covet." With Aristophanes, the *Knights*, as a precedent, we have a fifth legitimate translation: "You kill, *or*, as the case may be, you covet" *i.e.* "Some of you kill, and some of you covet."

Another "rather startling" meaning attaching to *καί* recurs frequently in the New Testament. We read in Matthew 6, 26, according to the Douay Version: "They neither sow nor reap: *and* your heavenly Father feedeth them." The King James brings out the sense better by saying: "They sow not; *yet* your heavenly Father feedeth them." But this was changed in the New Revised Version to "*and* he feedeth them." Dr. Goodspeed translates: "They do not sow, *and yet*, etc."

St. John 3, 19 relates: "The light is come into the world, *and* men loved darkness." Thus the Douay. The King James Revised, the same. Dr. Goodspeed renders: "*And yet* men loved darkness." Likewise Dr. Moffat: "*and yet*." Both Dr. Goodspeed and Dr. Moffat forcefully bring into prominence the contrast of the two clauses. "The light is come into the world, *and*



yet, lo and behold, men have loved darkness." How dramatically this narrates the unexpected and disappointing reaction to the advent of the light!

St. Luke 20, 19 presents a passage in which the adversative force of *καί* is quite pronounced; the Douay: "They sought to lay hands on him: *but* they feared." The King James and the New Revised Version render: "*and* they feared," while Dr. Goodspeed and Dr. Robertson agree with the Douay and bring out the contrast by "*but*." Dr. Moffat likewise feels the adversative character and translates: "*But* they were afraid."

Dr. Bruce in the *Expositor's Greek Testament* says expressly: "*καί* is to all intents adversative here, though grammarians deny that it is ever so used." No doubt the learned doctor was thinking of the older school of grammarians, such as Winer, to whom he refers, and others. Among modern scholars there is no dissenting voice, as to the adversative force of *καί* in the texts quoted. The only question yet to be touched is whether, even admitting the adversative force of the particle in the *interpretation*, it is advisable to bring this out in the *translation*, or to render *καί* by "*and*," and explain it in a footnote by "*but*" or "*yet*."

Let us now turn to classical models for the adversative force of *καί*. I shall quote two examples, one from *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, 1612. The memorable event is here masterfully crystallized in a dainty line and a half by the messenger who tells a "strange and awesome thing." In Mr. Way's translation: "For this same day dying *and* living hath beheld thy child." I think the most natural translation would be, "This day beheld thy daughter dead — *and yet* alive." This is the "strange and awesome thing": — The marvel of that day's happening, — the girl was sacrificed, and, — lo and behold — she lives! To have died — and yet to live — on the same day! One is reminded of a line of St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians (2 Cor. 6, 9). Here again, while the older versions cling to the tame "*and*," Dr. Goodspeed and Dr. Moffat are more vigorous; the one has: "Dying, *but* here I am alive, chastised, *but* not killed," which Dr. Goodspeed echoes: "At the point of death, *yet* here I am alive, punished, *but* not dead *yet*."

And so again the question arises: Is it really advisable in our translation of *καί* to bring out the special adversative character which comes to this particle from the nature of the *context*, or is it preferable to retain in the *translation* the flavor of the Greek original by imitating the simple paratactic arrangement, instead of introducing the hypotactic form of the words or clauses in question? Instead of giving a direct answer I shall call attention to a famous line from *Antigone*, 332. Mr. Storr renders: "Many wonders there be, *but* naught more wondrous than man." In all matters touching Sophocles one turns instinctively to Mr. Jebb's commentary. We read: The figure is the so-called "rhetorical parataxis," *καί* being equivalent to "*and yet*," the "*yet*" italicized. In other words, the adversative force of *καί* in this line is understood, brought out clearly and even emphasized by Mr. Jebb. And yet when we turn to Mr. Jebb's translation we meet the homely "*and*": "Wonders are many *and* none more wonderful than man." This inconsistency is only apparent. Mr. Jebb continues thus in his comment: "It is stronger to say 'they are great, and he is greater,' than 'though they are great, he is greater'." In Mr. Jebb's opinion the retention of "*and*" is more emphatic than "*but*" ever could be. While the adversative force of *καί* is recognized in the *interpretation*, "*and*" is retained in the *translation*, for the very same reason for which the Greek writer employed *καί* instead of some adversative particle. I do not know whether all will agree with the principle laid down by the English scholar; but this much must be admitted, that in a certain class of cases the English "*and*" is more powerful than "*but*." Recently a case of this kind came under my notice in a commentary by Archbishop Goodier on the miraculous haul of fishes by the sea of Tiberias. "They cast their nets," the writer says, "*and* caught nothing; they cast their nets again, *and* caught nothing; they rowed farther out *and* still caught nothing." This is surely presenting the matter in a very dramatic way, expressing the astonishment of the fishermen. I believe that where such dramatic effect is aimed at, we shall do better to retain "*and*," for the sake of emphasis, whereas in ordinary quiet composition the

more direct "but" will be in its proper place. If I am not mistaken, it is some thought like this that was in Dr. Dodd's mind when, in his commentary on St. John, in the *Expositor's Greek Testament*, he says, referring to Verse 10 of Chapter 1: "The simplicity of the statement, the thrice repeated *κόσμος*, and the connecting of the clauses by a mere *καί* deepens the pathos." Very true; and one is loath to depart from the old familiar rendering to which we have so long been accustomed: "He was in the world, *and* the world was made by him, *and* the world knew him not." I am sure that Dr. Goodspeed and Dr. Moffat would shake their heads at this statement of mine. The former in particular would give us to understand that the New Testament was written "in the common language of everyday life" (Preface). "It follows," he continues, "that the most appropriate English form for the New Testament is the simple straight-forward English of everyday expression." His version of Verse 10 reads: "He came into the world, and *though* the world came into existence through him, the world did not recognize him." And Dr. Moffat: "He entered the world — the world which existed thru him, *yet* the world did not recognize him."

So far as my own tastes are concerned in a matter of this kind, I would be in favor of some such principle as this: In the more solemn portions of the New Testament (to which, besides certain sections of the Romans and others, the Prologue of St. John undoubtedly belongs) "*and*" should be retained in order to reproduce the solemn effect aimed at by the sacred writers; whereas elsewhere the more brusk and straightforward "*but*" may well be suffered to supplant its rival. Dr. Goodspeed might be reminded that, while his main contention as to the colloquial style of the New Testament Greek is valid, still scholars insist that certain portions of the New Testament rise distinctively above the colloquial tone of everyday life. The New Testament has a divine and a human side; on its human side it is not of uniform texture but occasionally rises above the ordinary level of this workaday world. And there can be no mistake in raising or lowering the tone of the translation, according as the original rises or falls with the pulse of human life.

## OLYMPIC DECADENCE

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Spengler's *Downfall of Western Civilization* is, we are told, one of the most popular books of the present time. Certainly, whether as cause or effect, the idea of the decline of our civilization is in the air, and men are eagerly pointing out the presence of regenerative forces, or calmly awaiting the inevitable end. An approved method of developing the idea of our downfall is comparison with the civilizations of antiquity. Though not conclusive, this is perhaps one of the best methods we have. The whole condition has at least the advantage of stimulating us to look at ourselves, and to decide where our weakness or strength lies. None of the more striking activities of our modern life should be exempt from scrutiny.

In America and England, and increasingly throughout the lands influenced by western Europe, one of the most spectacular manifestations is that of athletics. Since interest in athletic sports is often reckoned one of the leading assets of our civilization, and zealously recommended to Filipinos and Hindus, our athleticism may well be brought into comparison with athletic civilizations of the past, such as that which originated the Olympic games that we recently have revived.

In his reminiscences of Socrates, Xenophon says that the philosopher, looking at the weak and puny frame of one of his followers, a certain Epigenes, addressed him, "How very unlike the body of an athlete yours is, Epigenes!"

"But I am not a professional athlete, Socrates."

Socrates replied in words so recent in tone that they might have been spoken yesterday:

Your life demands that you be an athlete as much as does that of a competitor at the Olympic games. Does the struggle for life with

the enemy, which your country will demand of you when necessity requires, seem to you a trifling contest? Or do you suppose that poor physical condition is better and more advantageous than good condition? Or do you despise the benefits secured by being in good condition? You may be well assured that in no affair whatever will you come off the worse because your body is better trained than that of other men, since the body must bear its part in whatever men do, and for all the services required of it, it should be in the best possible condition; for even in the activity which you think requires least from the body, namely, thinking, do not many fail from ill health? It is disgraceful, too, for a person to grow old in self-neglect, before he knows what he would become by rendering his body well-formed and vigorous; but this a man who neglects himself cannot know; for such advantages are not wont to come spontaneously.

Such a preachment has so strangely modern a sound that we are inclined to ask if it can be genuine at all. Has it not been foisted on the first and wisest of the Greeks by some believer in compulsory gymnastics for college students, some patriot distressed at the inadequate bodies of the men examined for our recent drafted army? For we are accustomed to think of the Greeks as a race of athletes, all of them fit models for Praxiteles. Their name is as generally associated with beautiful and fully developed bodies as with poetry and architecture. None but an iconoclast questions the axiom that all Greeks were fit to compete with any modern athlete.

There is some foundation for this belief in the athletic prowess of all Greeks. From the Homeric poems we infer that all of the aristocracy of middle age or below were able to compete in athletic contests at a moment's notice. Odysseus is usually thought of as a crafty man, but the stories about him lay quite as much emphasis on his physical powers. He is commonly superior to those with whom he competes, as the result not of any difference between his habits of life and theirs, but of superior natural powers, or the gifts of the gods. At the funeral games of Patroclus on the plains of Troy he and the other leaders present themselves for severe athletic competitions without special



training, and all seem to have been in excellent condition. Odysseus, though a smaller man than Ajax, contests with him in wrestling, and succeeds in holding the match to a tie. He also wins the foot race against younger men than himself. A decade later Odysseus is still not too old for athletic competition. After shipwreck he has been received by Alcinoüs, king of the Phaeacians, and is entertained by an athletic tournament in which there are events in running, wrestling, jumping, weight-throwing, and boxing. The young Phaeacian noblemen compete in large numbers; they are as ready to indulge in severe competition as were the Greek generals at Troy. The king's son, Laodamas, "goodliest of all the Phaeacians in form and face," is not successful in the foot race, but wins the boxing match. At the conclusion of the games he remarks to Euryalus — the successful wrestler — that Odysseus seems to be of powerful physique, and suggests that they ask him if he is skilled or practiced in any sport. Then going to Odysseus he tells him that "there is no greater glory for a man while yet he lives than that which he achieves by hand and foot," and asks him to try his skill. When Odysseus does not accept the challenge, Euryalus retorts that he is apparently not an athlete, but only a merchant with a memory for his freight and his greedily gotten gains. Stung by this unjust reproach, Odysseus springs up, and without waiting to throw off his garments seizes a stone larger than the Phaeacian weight-throwers have used, and hurls it far beyond their utmost marks. He then declares himself ready to compete in boxing, wrestling, throwing the javelin for distance, archery, and the foot race. He fears, however, that in the latter he may not show his usual speed because of the hardships he has recently undergone.

It is apparent that continual fitness for severe athletic exertion was expected of every Homeric gentleman until old age came on. Any level spot might at any time become his race course, and any boulder his discus for weight-throwing. He cannot allow himself to get out of condition without facing the possibility of disgrace. Moreover, he was expected to make a good showing not in one contest alone, but in several.

How did the Homeric gentleman keep in this all-around condition? Partly by constant practice of the various sports. We read in the *Odyssey* that the wooers of Penelope before the house of Odysseus amused their leisure by casting weights and spears. Such scenes must have been of constant occurrence among men not actively employed. Then the ordinary course of life supplied much exercise. The Homeric aristocrat slew his own beef and prepared it with his own hands. And there was much other exertion for him, such as that of handling a ship, which involved the severe exercise of rowing. The youths who, next to the wooers, were the noblest in Ithaca composed a vessel's crew for Telemachus when he went to visit Nestor. Hunting contributed a large share to the good condition of the Greek noble. Yet perhaps his strength was as much the result of his agricultural labors as of any other one of the activities mentioned. The disguised Odysseus is as willing to challenge the Ithacan prince Eurymachus to a contest in cutting grass with the scythe, or in plowing, as he has formerly been to engage in games. Indeed he seems to hold skill and strength in the operations of agriculture as much a proof of manhood as is readiness to battle. Odysseus was also a skilful carpenter, the builder of his own chamber.

As centuries went on, the opportunity for exercise furnished by normal employments became less, yet the Greek aristocracy still kept up its admiration for physical fitness, and the training of the body was a regular part of the education of Greek youth. There developed also the famous Greek games, of which the Olympic are best known. From the fifth century come down to us many of the best examples of athletic sculpture. The athletic excellence of the Athenian citizens of this period was shown in the famous charge at Marathon, where, according to Herodotus, the hoplites in their full equipment covered a mile at a run before engaging the Persians. However much critics may reduce this feat, enough still remains to make it a testimony to the excellent physical condition of the Athenian citizen.

In that age, as we are told by Mr. E. Norman Gardiner, the leading authority on Greek athletics, the development of athletes

was so symmetrical that only by some object — such as a discus — attached to a statue did the sculptor indicate the event in which an athlete had been successful. Soon, however, special training began, and we find Socrates commenting on the runner's over-development of his legs, and the wrestler's excessive development of the upper part of his body. This is a sign that men were training themselves with care for the contests for which they were best fitted by nature.

Such training was the result of the excessive attention given to competitions, and to the high rewards of the victors. The actual prizes at the great games were in themselves valueless, but the material rewards received by a victor from the city he represented were often very great, and quite in keeping with the extravagant honors commonly showered on him. For a parallel to the excesses of Greek adulation of athletic heroes, we must go to such incidents as the ovation of an Ohio city for one of its citizens who played a brilliant part in the concluding games of the World's Series of 1921. But we have no modern Euripides to echo the words of the Athenian poet in asserting that cities should honor wise and just men who have rid the commonwealth of evils, rather than men who have pitched well the baseball, or smitten it hard with the bat. The rewards of the victor made it worth while for men to devote themselves to preparing for the games. Success in a competition could no longer be the result of general excellence of physique, joined with moderate and irregular practice of all the popular feats of strength and skill. Only a man who made athletics his business could hope to win an Olympic crown. To this class of professional athletes the young man to whom Socrates directed his exhortation had no desire to belong.

And from what we know of them we must sympathize with the young man. They were tending toward the type represented at a later time by the Farnese Hercules, by the mosaic of a brutal boxer from the baths of Caracalla, and by the seated boxer of the Terme Museum at Rome, with his swollen ears, his broken nose, and his missing teeth.

The best minds of Greece unite in condemning the professional athlete and the adulation he received. Euripides calls him the "slave of his jaw, the captive of his belly," and declares that he neither knows what the good life is, nor is able to live it. In his useless old age he is like a worn-out cloak, losing its threads. Euripides cannot be accused of speaking in ignorance, for as a boy he won prizes at the Eleusinian games, and even offered himself as a candidate at Olympia. The father of Plato was a distinguished athlete, and under his training the young Plato himself won victories in wrestling at Delphi, Nemea, and the Isthmus. Yet the philosopher does not approve of the athletics of his day, but says that "such exercise is but a sleepy sort of thing, and rather perilous to health." Athletic tricks devised in a vain spirit of competition he disapproves, though he approves of such wrestling as is likely to render the citizen better able to perform the duties of war and peace. For Plato firmly believes in athletic training suited to make the citizens — both men and women — as effective as possible. But the training of the professional athlete is "unworthy of free men." In a similar strain Aristotle writes:

The temperament of an athlete is not suited to the life of a citizen, or to health, or to the procreation of children. . . . A man's constitution should be inured to labor, but not to labor which is excessive or of one sort only, such as is practiced by athletes; a man should be capable of all the actions of a freeman.

Practical men as well as poets and philosophers were also not in favor of athletics; Plutarch tells us of Philopoemon (252-183 B.C.):

Because he was naturally fitted to excel in wrestling, some of his friends and tutors recommended his attention to athletic exercises. But he would first be satisfied whether it would not interfere with his becoming a good soldier. They told him, as was the truth, that the one life was directly opposite to the other; the requisite state of body, the ways of living, and the exercise all different: the professed athlete sleeping much, and feeding plentifully, and apt to spoil all by every little excess, or breach of his usual method; whereas the

soldier ought to train himself in every variety of change and irregularity, and above all, to bring himself to endure hunger and loss of sleep without difficulty. Philopoemon, hearing this, not only laid by all thoughts of wrestling and condemned it then, but when he came to be general, discouraged it by all marks of reproach and dishonor he could imagine, as a thing which made men, otherwise excellently fit for war, utterly useless and unable to fight on necessary occasions. . . . He sought to harden his body, and make it strong and active by hunting, or laboring in his ground.

Epaminondas did not reject athletics altogether, but took part in those exercises which produced speed rather than mere strength, and were of some use in the training of the soldier.

It is important to observe that all of these men thoroughly believed in the value of physical training to the citizen, and yet disbelieved in athletics as practiced in preparation for the games.

Seeing what athletics had become, we are prepared for the disclaimer of Socrates' young friend, and for Aristophanes' attack on the young men of Athens as pale and narrow-chested, unfit to engage even in the torch race at a religious celebration. So far from engaging in the toil which Aristotle thought necessary for the good citizen, the Athenians, some scholars think, degraded in meaning all words indicating toil, among them the word *athlios*. Yet Mr. Gardiner tells us that "nowhere were competitions more various and more numerous." There were half a dozen important athletic contests annually. These contests were, however, for the entertainment rather than the participation of the Athenians. The events for boys and youths in the Panathenaic games would be especially likely to bring out local competitors. Yet in a list of more than sixty winners there are but seven Athenians. Epigenes and his friends did not engage in athletics themselves, but patronized the sons of the hardy peasants of Arcadia who performed for their amusement. The Athenian as a spectator and critic was no more athletic himself than the modern "sport."

Epigenes himself probably stood to witness the games, but at a later time the Panathenaic stadium would seat 50,000 spectators.



The stadium at Olympia always kept much of its early simplicity, but other buildings connected with the festival were elaborate. The games were attended by enormous numbers of spectators, and the celebration was a splendid one.

With the rise of professional athletics, and the great rewards of the victors in fame and money, came the inevitable corruption of the games. By the first century A. D. victories were publicly bought and sold. At the Isthmian games a competitor promised his rival 3000 drachmas to let him win, but after the competition refused to pay on the ground that he had won on his merits. The defeated competitor then took oath on the altar of the god Poseidon that he had had the promise of the money.

This story of corruption, beginning in the fifth century and continuing for half a millenium, has many features not wholly strange to one who knows the athletics of our day. Professional boxing in England was once killed by the venality of the participants, who did not honestly struggle to win, but took or gave over the victory for financial reasons. The difficulty with which other professional sports are kept free from corruption is so well known that each man can furnish his own examples. Nor do amateur athletics wholly escape; the desire for victory is a continual temptation to the secret spending of money on teams. Even college presidents have felt moved to say serious words on this evil. Certainly a man hired to represent, as we say, an organization in which he is not otherwise interested cannot gain it much true glory. Did it redound to the credit of the manhood of Egypt when Ptolemy IV hired Aristonicus the boxer to represent him at the Olympic games?

In physique also the college athlete reveals something of the unsymmetrical development observed by Socrates in the Greek athlete of the decadence. The tall oarsman, with his powerful but rounded back, the hammer-thrower with his great shoulders, the distance runner with his powerful legs and light arms, the heavy football player, are men of distinct physical types, developed not into harmony, but into the characteristics necessary to success in their particular departments. It is true that the reintroduction

of open play in football has taken the premium from mere beef, and a more attractive type of physique has been given a chance. The distinct types produced by the different sports are apparent in photographs; a few years ago the department of physical training of one of the large American universities included in a booklet distributed to students a number of pictures of members of various teams for the purpose of showing the effect on the body of their special forms of exercise.

The remarks of the philosophers on the unfitness for the duties of citizenship of the athlete — with his heavy diet and excessive exercise — apply also to college athletes. The football player after his afternoon of line-bucking and his heavy supper is notoriously unfit for an evening of study. Indeed so apparent is this that American colleges in practice carry out the theory of Plato that during periods of severe physical training not much mental effort should be expected.

Nor does modern athletics emphasize physical excellence for its own sake, even if we cease to demand harmony of development. The athlete out of training commonly takes little care of his body. I remember a conversation in a gymnasium between two young giants who were beginning their annual period of training for the crew. One of them said he had found the first day's work pretty hard, "My wind isn't good; I've been smoking like a furnace all the fall." College athletics do not foster a desire to care for the body for reasons other than immediate participation in some contest.

I once heard a college professor — at an institution where there was during the autumn no provision for the physical training of any students except those out for the team — defend football on the ground that young men were interested in their arms and legs. This may do for the forty who train for the team, but what of the nine hundred who sit on the bleachers? Shall we say they are interested in their throats because they cheer until their voices give out?

Secure your tickets weeks in advance, and go to the football game in the great stadium. Seventy thousand spectators sit on

the tiers of seats, such an assembly as perhaps never witnessed a game in Athens. How many of this vast throng are animated by any concern for physical excellence? Is the portly stockbroker who comes up from the great city in his limousine with his wife and daughter influenced by the physical condition of the players to give any thought to his own muscles — unless he remembers that Walter Camp once turned his attention from the All American Team to the Desk-Worker's Daily Dozen? But it is a far cry from the football field to the class in calisthenics to the sound of the phonograph.

Omitting the outsiders to whom the game is one of the entertainments of a week-end of merriment, what is a football game to the student? Does it stimulate him to athletic training, or is he like the unathletic Athenian with his many games? If he be of naturally powerful physique, he may be excited to the point of going out for the team, but if he weighs only a hundred and twenty, is he more likely to be assiduous in playing tennis? Indeed the football game actually makes him less rather than more athletic by distracting him from the humbler physical activities in which he might engage. Saturday afternoon is the student's chance for a tramp in the country, but he must spend it freezing on the bleachers. Even if the team is away from home, and he has been too poor to follow it, he is still under its sway. He must pass the afternoon in some crowded hall where he can cheer the telegraphic reports of the distant contest — apparently on the theory that the team receives telepathic stimulus from his outcries. What a pity that these cheers cannot be brought to the ears of the players by the wireless telephone, and thus stimulate them to fight — as it is usually put — for their alma mater!

What a contrast to the American youth's abandonment of the game to specialists was football as played at a public school in Tom Brown's time! Then the entire school actually engaged in a single game, and the smallest and youngest boy could feel that the condition of his little body might be of some moment in deciding the issue of a contest.

Sports other than football are less exacting in their demand

that a few expensively trained athletes should compete in games never played by the mass of the students. The college man may spend a good many hours watching varsity baseball games and yet play a number of games on his dormitory team. Basketball, cross-country running, and other sports are also often indulged in by the uncoached multitude. Yet it is open to doubt whether intercollegiate athletics to any great extent encourage athletics within the college. Certainly if the labor and money at present expended on the training of a few specialists were devoted to athletics for the masses, they would do much more for intramural athletics than does the mere stimulus of intercollegiate contests.

Elaborate and spectacular games which depend for existence on the support of a multitude of spectators are by nature opposed to general exercise by the many, as well as to the symmetrical development of the athlete. Watching sports does not make a people athletic; on the contrary frequent athletic entertainments demand a large body of spectators whose interest in the games is that of critics and supporters, but not of participants.

The Greek philosophers saw that numerous athletic contests for professionals were not furnishing the citizens with the physical power needed for the hand-to-hand struggle of the line of battle. The same need is still with us. The press has reported that officers delegated to report on the lessons of the Great War have decided that even now "battle is normally determined by physical encounter with the bayonet or fear thereof," that the foot-soldier must be armored by "his own agility," and that "man remains the fundamental instrument in battle, and as such cannot be replaced by any imaginable instrument short of one more perfect than the human body, including the mind." The training that will give the necessary bodily power is not a matter for emergencies, but for the whole population from childhood. For example, the German soldier was reported to be more disconcerted than the American — used to baseball — by the hurling of some simple missile as the prelude to a bayonet duel. And the bayonet duel often turned into a deadly wrestling match with only the weapons furnished by nature.

The physical training of the American people for the demands of warfare, or the no less renowned tasks of peace, cannot be the training of a few entertainers. All our young men should emulate the physical fitness of Ulysses. We are no more protected from physical decadence by our Olympic games than were the Greeks by theirs. Indeed of all decadence the Olympic decadence which shelters the physical incapacity of the many behind the marvelous but narrowly specialized skill of the few is the most dangerous, because giving to a nation a fair show of physical fitness without the reality.



## A JOURNEY FROM THIS WORLD TO THE NEXT

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Many years ago Job (xiv, 14) propounded the question: "If a man die shall he live again?" That question was interesting then. It is no less interesting now. Another question growing out of this of equally universal appeal and of equally universal significance is, What does the world beyond the grave look like, and what is the lot of those dwelling in it? Near the dawn of our era Vergil in his *Aeneid*, Book VI, discussed the Destiny of the Soul<sup>1</sup> and gave the most complete and comprehensive picture of this world to be found in antiquity, and near the dawn of the fourteenth century Dante in his *Divina Commedia* carried our thoughts much higher. But his narrative differs from that of his "master and guide" in many ways and in one in particular: Vergil gives us a detailed description of the various scenes witnessed by another person, Aeneas, *while still alive*, but Dante sets forth what he himself had seen in a vision.<sup>2</sup> This latter type is by far more common than the former, and medieval literature abounds in *visions*, generally vouchsafed in dreams. Hamlet's conception

<sup>1</sup> For an excellent summary of the views of the ancients regarding the future destiny of the soul see Norden *Aeneis VI* (1916), pp. 15 f. "Die Lehre von die Seelenwanderung." Compare also J. Estlin Carpenter, *Comparative Religion*, Chapter VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Another type is presented by Plato in his *Republic* X. Here Er, the son of Armenius, goes to Hades, and on being miraculously *restored to life* recounts the secrets of the other world. Closely related to such conceptions as those considered here is that of Metempsychosis, representing the soul departing to Hades and returning again, and lending a certain support to journeys to the unseen world. Particularly noteworthy is another variety furnished by the Irish *Vision of Adamnan* of the eleventh century, in which the soul is represented as leaving his body for a space to visit heaven and hell under the conduct of an angel, on account of its resemblance to Dante's con-

of a "bourn from which no traveller returns" may have been applied by the ancients to ordinary mortals. They did not apply it to heroes: the "descent" was easy, but the "ascent" — "*hoc opus, hic labor est*"! A hero is one who performs some extraordinary feat, and one can naturally believe that no greater task for a hero to perform could be conceived of by them than braving the terrors of a visit to the Great Unknown. In conformity with this feeling the ancient Greeks set before their greatest hero Heracles as a crowning task of heroism, going to the lower world and fetching its watchdog Cerberus. But this conception was employed to convey other notions. To pay a fine tribute to music and at the same time show their conception of the acme of conjugal affection they represented Orpheus, from a love for his wife, facing the terrors of the land beyond the grave, armed only with his lyre;<sup>3</sup> to present a high type of brotherly affection they represented the immortal Pollux dying on alternate days that he might share that time with his brother Castor in the lower world; as an evidence of true friendship they represented Theseus accompanying his friend Pirithous in the very hazardous enterprise of carrying off the wife of a god who ruled the Infernal Regions; and they represented filial affection as the cause that led Dionysus to rescue his mother Semele, and convey her back to Olympus. Wonderful people these Greeks!

There are many interesting and important details connected with these feats of superhuman courage, but only one of these can be noted here. It is certainly a remarkable feature to us, as it was to Homer and to Vergil, that the performer of these deeds was *alive* at the time that he entered the abode of the dead: Homer portrays the astonishment of Odysseus' mother on seeing her son "a *living man* coming beneath the darkness and the shadow" (*Odys.* XI, 156), and Vergil (VI, 391) has Charon say ception. See *Enc. Brit.* V, p. 631. Compare also Fielding's "A Journey from this World to the Next," belonging to the eighteenth century, which serves as a justification, so Lord Byron said, to his own "The Vision of the Last Judgment." And why mention the "Pilgrim's Progress?"

<sup>3</sup> For a beautiful rendering of this story see Verg. *Geo.* IV, 453 f., and for a tender and delicate interpretation of Leighton's picture, see Robert Browning's "Eurydice to Orpheus."

to Aeneas: "*Living bodies* I may not transport in the Stygian boat;" and later on (531) he represents Deiphobus asking Aeneas, "What chance has brought thee here *alive*?" Few indeed have been those who have been able to do this. They are those only who possess certain credentials: First and foremost are those who are "*Dis geniti*," as we learn from the Sibyl herself (129 f.); and Heracles, Pirithous, and Pollux, being sons of Zeus himself, all pass without any entrance conditions. On the contrary, the claims of some of the others are not quite so strong: Theseus is only the son of a brother of Zeus (Poseidon), and Orpheus is only a son of a daughter of Zeus (Calliope), but these are considered properly qualified. The case of Aeneas presents some interesting features. He knows the value of the argument from precedent (123): "I, too, have descent from Jove most high." But according to the Sibyl (405) his *pietas* alone would satisfy the entrance requirements, and besides, he deserved some extra credits on the ground that he is also *insignis armis* and is a man of *ardens virtus*. And, too, it is to be noted that, whereas Aeneas through his mother could trace his descent from Zeus himself, Odysseus through his mother could only trace his descent from the *mes-senger* of Zeus *i.e.* from Hermes. Another detail: As time went on the standards remain practically the same: Those who go to this "bourn" and "return" are either gods, or heroes, or saints.

The motive forces and the purposes in view vary in loftiness of conception. It was a sorceress Circe who directed Odysseus to seek out Teiresias in the lower world and receive from him counsel regarding the best way to reach home (*Odys.* X, 540),<sup>4</sup> but

<sup>4</sup>The conception of the lower world is, naturally, much more advanced in Vergil. What Homer's conception was may be inferred from the fate of his favorite hero Achilles, who says that he would rather live upon the soil as a hireling than be lord of all the dead (*Odys.* XI, 489). Contrast Pindar's radiant description of the "Isles of the Blessed" (*Ol.* II, 56 f.).

Here may be noted the curious notion that prevailed among the Phoenicians and among the Greeks and the Romans, that it was possible to communicate with the gods of the underworld by dropping into a grave a small roll of lead (*tabella devotionis*); see e.g. *Enc. Brit.* XXI, p. 457. Reference may also be made to the conception of killing a second person that he may take a message to a third in the lower world; see Verg. *Aen.* II, 547 f.

it was a departed father's shade who urged Aeneas to seek a meeting with him in Elysium, in order that he might impress upon his mind the sacredness and importance of his mission, that he might instruct him regarding "what glory shall hereafter attend the Dardan line, what children of Italian stock await him, souls illustrious and heirs of our name, of the Golden Age in Italy, of Rome's place in history," all depending upon him and his carefully carrying out the plans of the gods (756, 792, 846). How much more profound a program! On the contrary, Heracles went to the lower world under compulsion (his 12th labor); Hermes was dispatched by Zeus to rescue Persephone for her mother Demeter; and it was his vaulting matrimonial ambition that led Pirithous to secure as a wife the queen of the lower world.<sup>5</sup>

The conception of a deity or of a mortal *while still alive* visiting the Unseen World is found in many lands separated by both time and space. A few of the most noteworthy are noted here.

Ishtar, a Babylonian and Assyrian goddess, worshiped as the "Queen of Heaven" and as the "Mother of Mankind," is said to have made a descent into the lower world in order to seek the water of life to restore Tammuz, her lover or husband, passing through seven barriers before she reached the realm of its queen. But, being a goddess, there is nothing so remarkable about that, and the same remark applies to their god of war and the chase Nergal, who with the help of the great god Ea and accompanied by a host of fever demons raided the lower world and dragged the queen herself from her throne,<sup>6</sup> who thereupon, in order to save her life, promised half of her kingdom to her conqueror, and he in this way became the Babylonian Pluto. Then, too, there is their popular hero Gilgamesh,<sup>7</sup> the Babylonian Hercules, who, in order to find the secret of immortality, of perpetual youth,<sup>8</sup> set

<sup>5</sup> Note also that Pythagoras, according to the comic poet Aristophanes, is said to have entered the Lower Regions; see Glover, *Virgil*, p. 247.

<sup>6</sup> With the story of Ishtar compare that of Eurydice, and with the feat of Nergal compare the one attempted by Pirithous.

<sup>7</sup> See further E. A. Wallis Budge's notes to the *Epic of Gilgamesh* (British Museum publications, 1920, p. 56). It may be remarked that the Babylonian epic and the Roman epic (*Aeneid*) alike consist of 12 Books.

<sup>8</sup> How old is this Rejuvenation idea!

out to visit the Kingdom of the Dead and saw his friend Enkidnu (Eabani), but being unwilling to comply with the conditions prescribed by the priests, appealed for help to Ea, who ordered the warrior god Nergal to produce the spirit of the departed friend: soon a hole was opened in the ground and his spirit passed up into this world and conversed with Gilgamesh.<sup>9</sup> The ancient Egyptians spoke of their sun-god Re nightly making his march through the twelve sections of the underworld, which they said was watered by a Stygian stream, but this account is obviously of astrological origin. Then, too, the satirist Lucian (2d cent.) declares that he set sail and was carried to the Isle of the Blest (where he finds Homer) and later to the Infernal Regions (where he finds Herodotus), but the account of this expedition, he assures the reader, is a lie! Passing over several centuries we find that the idea of subterranean peregrinations has still survived, and sometimes the object sought a not very worthy one, as in the tale that Amaethon, a British Celtic deity, went to the underworld and stole a white roebuck and a puppy hound, and that the Sons of Don, a goddess of fertility, attempted to purloin the treasures of the realm of Bran, lord of the Welsh Celtic underworld! Arthur, King of Britain, is said to have braved the terrors of the underworld and returned with the magic cauldron of the gods of the Celtic Hades; and there is a dwarf, Alviss, who reverses the usual process: he comes from the underworld to wed a daughter of Thor; but when the Norse god returned, apparently acquiescing in the marriage, he kept plying the dwarf with questions all night until dawn arrived, when the prospective bridegroom turned "stiff and cold as stone"!<sup>10</sup> Several interesting features appear in the accounts of the great hero of the *Kalevala*, Wainamoinen, who (*Rune* xvi.) would cross —

"O'er the black and fatal river  
To the kingdom of Manala,"

<sup>9</sup> Compare the story of Etanna, who by the aid of an eagle attempted to fly to heaven, but on arriving at the gate of Ishtar fell to the ground, with the story of Icarus and his disastrous flight. See further *Enc. Brit.* III, p. 107.

<sup>10</sup> See further *Dict. of Non-Class. Myth*, p. 8.



when he is greeted with words of astonishment, as Odysseus and Aeneas had been in two earlier epics:

"Why thou comest to Manala,  
In a *hale* and *active* body?"

This surprise is later expressed by "Still untouched by Death's dark angels" and by "neither dead nor dying." As a further indication of how widespread are beliefs in journeys to the other world, it may be noted that Izanagi,<sup>11</sup> the Japanese Creator, is said to have gone thither in search of Izanami,<sup>12</sup> the Creatress, who had perished in giving birth to the god of fire, lighting a tooth of the comb that held his hair to illuminate his passage, but finding only the decaying corpse of his wife, he fled away in horror and returned to the upper world.<sup>13</sup> Some of the readers of the JOURNAL may be interested to know that they play ball in the other world, or, at any rate, it is said in the sacred book of the Kiche Indians of Guatemala that two hero-gods were challenged to a game of ball by the lords of the Kiche Hades, defeated by guile, and imprisoned, and that their sons descend to that realm and rescue them after winning a victory over them in a second game.<sup>14</sup> Here it is paternal affection that is the impelling force, in contrast to filial that prompted Dionysus, as previously noted.

During the Middle Ages imaginary descriptions of the abode of the dead abound, and a common type is a Christian apocalyptic vision.<sup>15</sup> On the contrary, the representation of a *living person* making a journey to the unseen world and returning to this world and describing the various realms visited and the life of its in-

<sup>11</sup> Izanagi: from his nose was born Susanoo, from whom the Mikado traces his descent; from his right eye was born Amaterasu, the goddess of the sun. Compare the birth of Pallas Athene from the brain of Zeus, and note Hartland, *Perseus* I, p. 1: "Stories of supernatural birth may be said to have a currency as wide as the world."

<sup>12</sup> See further *Enc. Brit.* XV, p. 252. The similarity of motives here and in the cases of Ishtar and of Orpheus are obvious.

<sup>13</sup> Compare *Dict. of Non-Class. Myth*, p. 95.

<sup>14</sup> See *id.* p. 140.

<sup>15</sup> E. Norden, *Aeneis Buch VI* (1916), p. 9, gives a list of twenty-three such visions "for convenience of citation," ranging from the 2d century to Dante, many of them being based upon Vergil. Of course there are more.

habitants, is comparatively rare. In English literature from the eleventh to the fifteenth century<sup>16</sup> these noteworthy personal visions are found: "The Vision of St. Paul, or The Eleven Pains of Hell," in which he tells us: "In a deep stinking pit sealed with seven seals suffered those who did not believe in Christ's birth from Mary, or in Baptism, or the Eucharist;" "St. Patrick's Purgatory," in which the entrance to the underworld is placed near Lough Derg, Donegal, Ireland; and "The Vision of Tundale," a rich man of Ireland, guilty of the seven deadly sins, who was conducted by a guardian angel to Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven.

Of special interest alike to the theologian and to the student of Vergil is the "Descent of Marbodius into Hell," characterized by Anatole France as "a precious monument of the Penguin literature of the fifteenth century,"<sup>17</sup> and translated by him under the conviction that he "is doing a service to his fellow-countrymen."<sup>18</sup> The setting is this: Marbodius<sup>19</sup> says he was reading "the verses of the poet I love<sup>20</sup> best of all," and expressing this belief: "I can easily persuade myself that Virgil, like the Emperor Trajan, because even in error he had a presentiment of the truth, was admitted to Paradise." He then goes on to describe how he was "lifted up and carried" to a place "far from my native land at the bottom of a valley bordered by cypress trees," when he is met by the Sibyl, who points to "the fair Proserpina's beautiful *golden twig*, without which none can enter *alive* into the dwelling-place of the

<sup>16</sup> Compare J. E. Wells, *A Manual of Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400* (1916), pp. 331 f.

<sup>17</sup> Anatole France also refers to the "fictions": "The Voyage of St. Brendan," "The Vision of Altericus," and "St. Patrick's Purgatory."

<sup>18</sup> See Anatole France *Penguin Island* trans. by A. W. Evans (1922), pp. 116 f. It is interesting to note that Chapters VI and VII of this book are entitled "An Assembly in Paradise," in which he represents, among others, St. Patrick, the Saints Damasus, Irenaeus, Augustine, Anthony, and Tertullian taking part in the discussion.

<sup>19</sup> Marbodius was a monk of the order of St. Benedict.

<sup>20</sup> Note a similar remark from Marbodius' fellow-countryman, Dante (*Inf.* I, 1).

"May it avail me, that *I long with zeal*  
Have sought thy volume, and *with love immense*  
Have conn'd it o'er, my *master thou and guide!*"

dead," adding, "and in truth eagerly did I long to converse with the shade of Virgil." Finally he finds "Virgil" "among the heavens, and shades in the Elysian Fields,"<sup>21</sup> when he addresses him: "It is through thee I know what beauty<sup>22</sup> is. . . . I read thy poems by day and I read them by night. It is thee whom I have come to see and was impatient to know what thy fate is," and then concludes his narrative after the fashion followed by the poet he loved: "I walked through the pale meadows to the gate of horn."<sup>23</sup> And with this we conclude our narrative.

<sup>21</sup> It is interesting to note Marbodius' *Who's Who* and see what classical writers he has placed in Elysium: Homer, Solon, Democritus, Pythagoras, Hesiod, Orpheus, Euripides, Sappho, Horace, Varius, Gallus, Lycoris and "a little apart," Virgil.

<sup>22</sup> Compare Mackail *Virgil* (1922) p. 127: "From Virgil Dante took . . . the long-lost *bello stilo*, the beauty of language which he regained for European poetry."

<sup>23</sup> Vergil, however, represented Aeneas as emerging by the *ivory* gate, and has thereby caused his commentators, ancient and modern, much trouble.

## THE LIBERAL COLLEGE AND THE HIGH SCHOOL — A PLEA FOR CO-OPERATION<sup>1</sup>

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To the lay observer, one fact regarding present-day educational tendencies is becoming increasingly clear; namely, that the liberal college and the state-supported high school, whatever were once their mutual relations, are today drifting farther and farther apart. While the liberal college (and this refers to the College of Arts and Sciences in our state universities almost as much as to our endowed institutions) is still struggling to maintain the humanistic ideal which reigned in Western civilization for two thousand years, the high school is no longer true to tradition. New gospels have won its allegiance, and humanism as a whole is being threatened with the same extinction that has overtaken Greek in particular. The college, if it is true to its declared function, is a *liberal* college, free from servitude to the market place, not bowing down before the tyranny of modernity, not depending for its sanctions upon popular approval. Its ideal is essentially an aristocratic ideal, though its aristocracy need not be tainted by plutocratic snobbery. Liberal education, by its very name, implies this aristocratic disdain of slavish service of all kinds. It is free to pursue the study of medieval poetry, if it sees fit, or of the political organization of ancient Thebes, or to parse verbs in Sanskrit and other forgotten tongues, or to play with colored mixtures in test tubes — all this quite regardless of the newspapers or the price of wheat on the exchange.

I do not mean to imply that the college feels itself licensed to

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at the Minnesota Educational Association, Saint Paul, Minn., November 6, 1925.

pursue a totally irresponsible policy. It usually has a definite course in view, and looks toward a definite end, organizing even freedom toward a goal. But it is liberal nevertheless; it takes large views, and does not expect to cash in on its product at sight. It is not subject to democratic control. The privately endowed school, in these days not yet communistic, does not have to plead its cause before the grocer and candlestick-maker, nor even before the legislature. It has its own constituency, of course, but this constituency has, in the past at least, had wisdom enough to let it remain a place of free culture, where even Greek could be studied regardless of whether it was useful or not. In fact, religious bodies have hitherto been the mainstay of liberal education. And this, I think, for a very definite reason. Liberal culture is aristocratic, and, therefore, to a certain extent differentiated from religion. But liberal education, when it is really such, has one important characteristic in common with religion. It is, in the best sense of the word, unworldly. It does not serve Mammon or the gods of the market place. If the goddess of getting-on in the world were really to take charge of its curriculum, three-fourths of its studies would be abolished. The study of medieval poetry would give way to the study of gas engines; Plato and Aristotle to the *Literary Digest*; the Peloponnesian War to statistics on the last election; even the unworldly speculations of pure science to a study of banking and the stock exchange.

In truth, if we turn to the American high school, part of a democratically controlled educational system, precisely something of this sort has happened. The surprising fact is that the unworldly cultural ideal has held its own in popular education so long. It seems today a strange phenomenon to contemplate that the public schools of a generation since still encouraged a four-year course in Latin, even teaching Greek in many instances, with a curriculum quite useless for farm or bank.

But the Golden Age belongs now to the region of stories. The public school is become democratic, and is reflecting, as it did not before, the civilization it serves. And the kind of education which



we are getting is exactly the kind which one might expect from an industrialized, materialistic civilization. Let such a civilization be ever so honest and Puritanical in its morals, — and we may remember that it is our industrialized twentieth century which has given us prohibition — it is decidedly not unworldly. It would be idiotic to expect our age, of its own initiative, to demand of its schools medieval poetry or the study of Greek, even though it may on a Sunday or when reading its five-foot shelf admit that the glory which was Greece and the grandeur which was Rome was in certain respects greater than our own. Perhaps it would be easier to maintain a cultural ideal in public education were controls still in the hands of the humble peasant or the pioneer. Our pioneers had a great deal more respect for the unworldly scholar, even the scholar of Greek, than does Mr. Babbitt of Zion City. Half-education, as Dean Inge is never weary of pointing out, is the great danger of our time.

Another fact which troubles the humble teacher of the humanities is that the leaders in popular education seem to accept the disappearance of the unworldly ideal with equanimity, perhaps even with enthusiasm. The new banner under which they are marching, so it appears to me at least, is that of Service. Now Service is a great word, and the gospel of Service a great gospel. And in a real sense even liberal education has ever tried to be a servant. Socrates, defending himself before the jury which condemned him to his death, was ready to boast that no person was more useful to Athens than himself, though he had refused political office and the cares of business. But Service is also a very slippery word, and the gospel of Service a very doubtful gospel. It makes a vast difference whether one serves others by giving them what they want or giving them what they need. The gospel of Service is a great gospel when it is interpreted aristocratically; it is a doubtful gospel when it becomes a mere pandering to democratic instinct. And popular education is increasingly yielding to popular instinct, giving the market place what it wants. Democracy itself is, of course, a slippery thing. Aristocratic democracy is the ideal government of Plato; but at

the opposite extreme he places the democratic rule of the mob. Carlyle's argument against putting faith in abstract democracy is unanswerable: "Jesus Christ and Judas Iscariot, each with one vote."

Clearly the public high school is today serving the needs of general education in a manner differing from that of the liberal college. It is responsive to popular control, while the college is not. And a change in its course must come about, not by the fiat of a few, but by a change in popular demand, though even on this point, I think, our educational experts could do much by way of guidance if they would. Is it too much to ask that even the high-school student be shown by persuasive argument from authority the ultimate utility of Latin, or the value of cultural literature for the future bank clerk, as over against precious years spent in the technique of bookkeeping and business correspondence — all of which he may practice the rest of his life? Is it too much to ask of authority that parents and students alike be brought to see the difference between education in the real sense and apprenticeship to a trade — both excellent in their place? Surely the economic pressure to escape poverty was no less in the Middle Ages than today; yet the school was not confused with the apprentice shop. But if this is too much to expect from authority, we may hope for a renewal of interest on the part of the public itself in the unworldly element of education. Popular concerts by a symphony orchestra, art exhibitions, public libraries — all these help.

And even more specifically: Granted that the high school conceives its task to be different from that of the liberal college; granted that the number of strictly cultural studies is dwindling while utilitarian studies are taking their place, yet it is the college of liberal arts, public or private, which is furnishing the teachers for this as yet untouched humanistic remnant. To what extent are we of the colleges conscious of our opportunities in this regard? Are we performing our task well enough so that our graduates can, by sheer superiority, compete against the gods of the market place? I fear that we have many sins to confess.

Our standards are not high enough. And our blaming the high schools for sending us an inferior product is only a partial excuse, true though it may be. Why not be brave enough to graduate a smaller number of seniors? Or at least to recommend a smaller number of candidates for teaching? If cultural education is by nature aristocratic, the aristocratic principle of selection might be more rigorously applied to it. The chief fault which I have to find with the average run of teachers in our prairie villages is that they are not cultured men and women. They read no books themselves. The school library is often a palsy-stricken thing, however luxurious the building which houses it. Even in this our twentieth century we seem to be unaware of the invention of the art of printing.

Another concrete suggestion may not be out of place. If, despite democratic ideals and democratic control, the high school still recognizes the value, if only for a limited number, of the traditional disciplines, it could help the college greatly. One of the principal difficulties the colleges have to contend with is that candidates for entrance come to us with their high-school curriculum at loose ends — no foreign language, perhaps, particularly no Latin, no history, not enough mathematics. They may obtain admission, but they are handicapped. Many of them expected to go to college throughout their high-school course. A little sound advice would have saved them a great deal of trouble and grief — just as a little counsel regarding the necessity of French and German for graduate study would save many a college student from embarrassment after graduation. The high-school principal need not approve of Latin, and yet inform likely candidates for college entrance of the fact that most colleges do think it desirable, that in many Eastern colleges it is still compulsory.

In fact, the harm done by a differentiation between the ideals of liberal and utilitarian education would be greatly lessened if the differentiation could be frankly faced and honestly labeled. You cannot punish a boy for choosing an honest trade in preference to culture. Only he should not be led to think that he has

acquired both when he has only secured the one. Liberal education, as Matthew Arnold pointed out, has in the long run nothing to fear from competition. Its unworldly ideal can, in the nature of the case, not be pursued by all. But it will again have won its place in the world when it is recognized for what it is and has again secured the respect of the man in the street.

## NOTES FROM ROME

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Several recent reports in Italian newspapers may be of interest to readers of the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*.

Work on the tomb of Virgil at Naples is to be begun in preparation for the Virgil celebration which is to take place in 1930. Various plans have been suggested. The one which apparently will be adopted will involve clearing of the entire zone of the tomb. For the same celebration, excavations are progressing in the grotto of the Sibyl at Cumae. Previously unknown parts of the grotto have been uncovered. The large entrance gallery has been cleared.

In Rome a large fragment of the consular Fasti has been discovered. The Fasti are one of the most important documents which have come down to us from ancient times, as they give us the chronological basis for the history of Rome. They were originally set up on the exterior walls of the Regia in the Forum. The newly found fragment covers the years from 278 to 267 B.C. and from 215 to 208 B.C. It is said to settle a controversy on the date of a lustrum. The manner of its finding is as characteristic as it is interesting. It was discovered built into a wall of a building in one of the busiest streets of Rome (Torre Argentina). The fragment is to be placed in the same museum as the rest of the Fasti.

Excavation is continuing in the Forum of Augustus, which has some very interesting features. It is not yet regularly open to the public. It is planned to excavate the other imperial fora. Among the plans still more or less visionary are the freeing of the Pantheon, the theater of Marcellus, and the tomb of Augustus from surrounding buildings. The last-named will, however,



continue to be the chief concert hall of Rome. Another project is to reërect the Ara Pacis. Money has already been appropriated for the excavation of the Circus Maximus. These projects are on the one hand delayed by the problem of housing, which is still acute, and on the other hand are given an impetus by the necessity of widening the narrow streets for the increasing automobile traffic.

The underground basilica, found a few years ago directly under the main railway lines leading to the north and south of Italy, continues to arouse interest and speculation by reason of its remarkable construction and fine stucco reliefs.

So far no one has put forth a claim to the finding of an old manuscript of Livy — but the year is still young.

## HOW LONG WAS AENEAS AT CARTHAGE?

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By FRANKLIN H. POTTER  
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When Dido was entertaining Aeneas at the banquet on his arrival in Carthage, she remarked that he was then in the seventh summer of his wanderings. After he escaped from Carthage and returned to Sicily and was celebrating the anniversary of his father's death, Iris, masquerading as the aged Beroë, told the Trojan women that the seventh summer of their wanderings was drawing to a close. Without any adequate reason for doing so, scholars have generally assumed that Aeneas spent a whole year at Dido's court and conclude, therefore, that the two events above mentioned could not both have belonged to the same summer. This alleged inconsistency has been noted by commentators from the earliest times<sup>1</sup> and has had a large part in all the theories of the composition of the *Aeneid* from the time of Servius to the more recent efforts of Butler and Miss Crump. Butler (*The Sixth Book of the Aeneid*, p. 39) mentions this as one of the crucial inconsistencies in the first six books. Conway, reviewing Butler's book in the *Classical Review* (xxxv, 165), says this is the only one of Butler's "crucial inconsistencies" "which contains a real difficulty," but he offers no solution. Miss Crump (*The Growth of the Aeneid*, p. 63) lists this as one of the "three important points in which Book V is inconsistent with the other books." These views are fairly representative of those which have been held by the most eminent Vergilian scholars. Heyne alone seems to have attempted an explanation which went further than conceding a hopeless inconsistency.

<sup>1</sup> Ergo constat quaestionem hanc unam esse de insolubilibus, quas non dubium est emendaturum fuisse Vergilium. — Servius, *Ad Aen.* V, 626.

A study of this problem involves the examination of the following questions:

In what year of his wanderings did Aeneas reach Sicily, and when did Anchises die?

How long after his father's death did Aeneas remain in Sicily before starting on the voyage which took him to Carthage?

How long did Aeneas remain at Carthage?

On all of these points one who reads very widely in the literature will find a great variety of contradictory statements, all made with the utmost assurance.

Anchises died soon after Aeneas reached western Sicily, where Acestes lived. We learn from the fifth book (46; 626) that one year after the death of Anchises the seventh summer of their wanderings was drawing to its close. According to this, Aeneas must have reached Sicily in the sixth year of his wanderings.

In the first book, apart from the *septima aetas* (756), which gives the date of the leaving of Sicily, there are four passages which imply the passing of at least as many years since the fall of Troy. Two of these, *multos per annos* (31) and *tot annos* (47), come early in the book and give the first impressions of the length of Aeneas' wanderings. The third (249) relates that since the fall of Troy Antenor had escaped from the Greeks, had founded a city and established an abode for the Teucri, and *nunc placida compostus pace quiescit*. Lastly, the story of Teucer, as told by Dido, together with the flight of Dido and the founding of Carthage would require as many as the seven years mentioned at the close of the book.

As to the question involving the chronology of the third book, about the only sensible thing to say is that Vergil was writing a poem, not a diary. He was artist enough not to let non-relevant items of chronology intrude on the essentials of the story or obscure the outline of the poem. He does mention the coming and passing of days and nights, but certainly not all days and nights. When such items enter into the story, it is to give color or character to an event, not to show how long Aeneas was in reaching the goal. He explicitly mentions one winter and two meals; but we

are not to assume that these are the only meals which the Trojans ate, and it would be equally absurd to argue that the one winter mentioned was the only winter included in the action of the book. Clearly Vergil had not worked out all the details of the third book to completion, but it contains passages which imply a period of years which would bring it into harmony with the time indicated in the first and fifth books. Andromache alludes (*Aen.* III, 331) to the madness of Orestes. This came upon him in the eighth year after the fall of Troy (*Odys.* 3, 306; cf. 1, 40 f.). Vergil has here, as elsewhere, disregarded the exact number of years, but the period of six years ascribed by implication in the fifth book to the action of the third book comes nearer to the tradition than the three-year period as calculated by Butler and Miss Crump. The events in the lives of Andromache and Helenus as told by Vergil (III, 294 ff.) conform in the main to the tradition which obtained elsewhere in ancient literature.<sup>2</sup> After the fall of Troy Andromache was carried away to Phthia by Pyrrhus, with whom she lived for several years. They had one son. This child, Molossus, was old enough to appear as one of the characters in the tragedy (*And.* 504 ff.) in which the murder of Pyrrhus is announced. All this is past history when Aeneas found Helenus and Andromache married and ruling over a part of Pyrrhus' former domain, having built there already an imitation Troy. These events could not have been crowded into less than six years.<sup>3</sup>

According to *Aeneid* III, 491, Ascanius and Astyanax were of

<sup>2</sup> Hyslop in his edition of the *Andromache*, Introd. p. xii, mentions certain alleged inconsistencies from which he concludes that Vergil and Euripides have followed different versions. Servius (*Ad Aen.* III, 297) gives a version differing from both. But these differences are not such as would affect the length of time involved in the events taken as a whole.

<sup>3</sup> A strict consideration of Euripides' play would require even a longer period; for the events of the play come after the return of Menelaus, in the eighth year after the fall of Troy. Pausanias (I, 11, 1) names three sons of Pyrrhus and Andromache. If we might believe that he followed a tradition known to Vergil, we should find in this even stronger confirmation of the view that the events of the third book were meant by Vergil to cover a period of at least six years.

approximately the same age. Vergil must have known that Astyanax is represented as a young child carried in the arms of his nurse during the last days of Troy (*Iliad* VI, 400). In the *Tabula Iliaca*, which is believed to belong to the time of Vergil, Andromache is represented as holding in her lap a child not more than four years old. Such, too, is the Astyanax of Euripides' *Troades*. In the second book of the *Aeneid* (674), as Aeneas is leaving the house, Creusa blocks his way holding out to him the little Iulus. In this book Ascanius is five times called *parvus Iulus*. The epithet "parvus" is not applied to him in any of the other books. In the *Tabula Iliaca* and in well-known vase-paintings (Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Nos. 775, 32, 795) are representations of Aeneas leaving Troy accompanied by Ascanius. If we may judge from the proportionate sizes of the figures, taking into consideration the average height of children at various ages, unless Ascanius was undersized for his age, he could not have been more than six years old when Aeneas left Troy. But when Aeneas took leave of Andromache and Helenus (III, 491), Ascanius was not far from twelve years old:

Et nunc aequali tecum pubesceret aevo.

Consistently throughout the rest of the story he is in the years of adolescence.

From these facts it is reasonable to conclude that in the *Prose Aeneid*,<sup>4</sup> which the poet must have had constantly before him while working here and there on the metrical version, Vergil allowed approximately six years for the action of the third book.

In the absence of any unequivocal statement in the poem to the contrary, and to bring the parts into harmony with one another, it is reasonable to believe that having arrived in Sicily near the close of the sixth summer, Aeneas would spend the winter there. Winter navigation was avoided by the ancients, and it seems quite certain that the Trojans spent the winter on land. The season warned Aeneas to prepare his winter-quarters. It was

<sup>4</sup> *Aeneida prosa prius oratione formatam digestamque in XII libros particulatim componere instituit, prout liberet quidque, et nihil in ordinem arripens.* — Donatus, *Vit. Verg.* 83, Brummer.



the logical thing to winter with the friendly Acestes. It is extremely unlikely that the *pius* Aeneas would hurry away from Sicily immediately after his father's death, especially at a time when he would normally keep off of the sea. More of this later.

According to Book I, 535, Ilioneus told Dido that it was the rising Orion that brought on the storm. Although opinions vary widely as to the significance of this reference, I believe that Vergil meant to indicate that Aeneas arrived in Africa about the time of the heliacal rising of that constellation, which would be not far from July 1st of the seventh summer.<sup>5</sup>

Heinze has noted how scantily Vergil gives chronological data in the poem, and this observation is confirmed by anyone who looks for such items. But in the fourth book Vergil has come to an incident in the career of his hero where dates are necessary. Every day that Aeneas remained in Carthage he became less and less a hero. Vergil sensed this and understood the necessity of making his stay short, and he took particular pains to have his readers understand that Aeneas was there but a few months at the most. So he skilfully tells us that it was the seventh summer when Aeneas reached Carthage, and it was still the seventh summer when he got away.

The events of the sojourn followed one another in rapid succession. One year is certainly too long for such intense action to last. The situation of Aeneas at Carthage, involving so many explosive elements, could not have lasted long before it would burn itself out. Add to the normal human elements of a husbandless queen and a wifeless hero the reckless earnestness and designs of Venus and Cupid and Juno, the flaming jealousy of Iarbas, the relentless activities of Fama, the national spirit of the Tyrians and of the Trojans, the inexorable commands of Jove, and we have the factors of a plot that must have come to the dénouement in a relatively brief time. All the events of the fourth book could well be crowded into a period of sixty days.

Three passages have been cited as evidence that Aeneas re-

<sup>5</sup> Orion qui oritur ut Sallustius dicit iuxta solis aestivi pulsum. — Servius, *Ad Aen.* 1, 535.

mained through the winter and approximately a year at Dido's court. One of these is the passage in Book V (46), which tells us that he returned to Sicily on the day before the anniversary of his father's death. While this might be cited to prove the maximum limit of his stay as somewhat less than a year, it contributes nothing to indicate how long he actually did stay there, unless it can be proved that he left Sicily immediately after Anchises' death. If, as Butler, Miss Crump, and others do, we assume that Aeneas did leave Sicily then, he must have spent a year in Carthage, and the summer of his arrival (which Dido calls *septima*) and the summer of his return (which Beroë calls *septima*) cannot be the same, and there is a hopeless inconsistency in Books I and V.

If, however, we assume that Aeneas remained in Sicily during the winter following his father's death (at the close of the sixth summer), there is no inconsistency. This question depends largely on our interpretation of the passage at the close of the third book. After mentioning his father's death Aeneas says,

*Hic labor extremus, longarum haec meta viarum.  
Hinc me digressum vestris deus appulit oris.*

Miss Crump says, "It is quite clear from the conclusion of Book III that Anchises dies immediately before the voyage in which Aeneas was carried to Carthage." That is certainly reading into this passage much more than Vergil said. But such forced interpretation is the sole support of the belief that Aeneas spent a year at Carthage. What Vergil actually says is that when Aeneas left the place where his father died he was driven to Carthage. That is quite a different thing from saying that he left *immediately*. In fact, this passage leaves us quite without information as to when Aeneas left Sicily. If he did spend this winter in Sicily, his doings would have no importance in the story, and it is inconceivable that Vergil would have admitted them into the narrative. His silence on this point, therefore, has no weight whatever. It is more reasonable to cite Vergil's statements from the first and fifth books to prove that Aeneas spent

the winter in Sicily, than to read into this passage something which Vergil did not say, in order to convict him of inconsistency.

The second passage to be scrutinized is the one in Book IV (193 f.), which is cited as evidence that "all the winter they spend in unthinking happiness" (Conway, *New Studies of a Great Inheritance*, p. 146):

nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere  
regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos.

A superficial view of this passage suggests this very thing.<sup>6</sup> But it is merely the exaggerated remark of the fiend Fama and is preceded by the warning that Fama —

*pariter facta atque infecta canebat.*

These wild ravings of Fama followed immediately after the incident of the hunting expedition, and this occurred soon after the arrival of Aeneas. Fama's rôle must have belonged to the summer. As the season for navigation was passing without any signs of Aeneas' departure, Fama suspects, concludes, and proclaims that they are purposing to spend the winter together. To take this passage as a statement of serious fact is to miss the whole point of Vergil's portrayal of Fama. The context shows that the poet never intended to have this taken as proving the very thing which he is particular to deny; for his statement that Aeneas came to Carthage in the seventh summer and left Carthage in the seventh summer is a flat denial that he spent the winter there. Whoever takes this fiend's gossip as evidence that Aeneas and Dido were then actually spending the winter together

<sup>6</sup> This interpretation is followed by the commentators generally, e.g. "and that now they spend the winter" (Fairclough and Brown); "are making the whole winter long a time of wantonness" (Greenough-Kittredge-Jenkins); "now the winter long they pass in soft dalliance" (Sidgwick); "that winter of sweet sin" (Ogle, *A.J.P.* 45, 274). See also the dictionaries *s.v.* *foveo*. The presence of the phrase *quam longa* in this passage is against the traditional interpretation and shows that *fovere* must here be taken in the sense of "cherish in anticipation" as in *Aen.* I, 18. Commentators seem to have overlooked a quaint humor in the diction derived from the literal meaning of *foveo* as applied to *hiemem*. Page, followed by some American editors, construes the passage differently but with the same ultimate meaning.

must account for an unparalleled awkwardness in Vergil's plot, in which the wild activities of Fama would have to continue from summer till winter — a period of some six months or more, — before the dénouement to which they directly contributed. But Vergil says:

*Protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban.* — IV, 196.

The third passage cited to prove that Aeneas stayed at Carthage into the winter, or that he left Carthage in the winter (cf. Glover's *Virgil*,<sup>5</sup> p. 195) is:

Quin etiam hiberno moliris sidere classem  
et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum. — IV, 309 f.

Like the other passage examined, this proves nothing. At the time of Aeneas' departure from Carthage the summer was drawing to a close (*vertitur aestas*, V, 626). Dido, aware that his departure was imminent, but not realizing that it was to be immediate, pictures him as sailing, not at the close of summer, but in the near future, when the seas would begin to be forbidding. She is desperate for arguments to detain him and exaggerates the actual dangers of the voyage. Moreover, she is merely using the stock arguments which Anna had suggested immediately after Aeneas' arrival earlier in the summer:

Indulge hospitio causasque innecte morandi,  
dum pelago desaevit hiems et aquosus Orion,  
quassataeque rates, dum non tractabile caelum. — IV, 51 ff.

*Hiems* here,<sup>7</sup> as frequently elsewhere, means no more than "storm." Neither this advice of Anna nor its echo in the mouth of Dido can seriously be taken to prove that the winter season was actually at hand, any more than *vicit hiems* (I, 122) can be cited to prove that Aeneas came to Carthage in the dead of winter. If these passages are rightly understood as the wild exaggerations of a gossiping fiend on the one hand, and of a lovelorn, desperate woman on the other hand, as the poet certainly intended them to

<sup>7</sup> Sidgwick translates, "while on the sea the storm rages"; but Fairclough and Brown, "while winter rages fiercely."

be understood, all evidence that the winter months found Aeneas still in Carthage vanishes.

On the contrary, there are both in the first book and in the fourth book many indications that Vergil in composing this episode had in mind the summer time. Such expressions as *nemora frondea* (I, 191) and *fusi per herbam* (I, 214) suggest summer. The hunting party was in the summer. The fateful storm was rain, not snow. Fama's activities began immediately and reached Iarbas directly; his appeal to Hammon was immediate, and Mercury went quickly on his errand. At the instance of Aeneas his followers began to get the fleet ready. The saplings which they secured for oars were covered with leaves:

Frondentisque ferunt remos et robora silvis  
infabricata fugae studio.

The green herbs mentioned in line 513 suggest summer:

Falcibus et messae ad lunam quaeruntur aenis  
pubentes herbae nigri cum lacte veneni.

It is a summer night which, with its *pictae volucres*, is pictured beginning at 522. Aeneas is represented as sleeping in his ship (554), a circumstance hardly to be expected in winter. The *Zephyros secundos* of 562 suggest summer.

In Justinus' *Epitome* of Trogus, 18, 6, there is a story of Elissa and Hiarbas which in many details is parallel to the Dido story as told by Vergil. The length of the storm-and-stress period culminating in the suicide of Elissa is given as three months. It is reasonable to believe that Vergil was acquainted with this tradition and shaped his story to conform in essential details. I see in this a possible confirmation of the view expressed above, that Vergil intended to represent Aeneas' sojourn in Carthage as lasting approximately three months.

If the modern reader will distinguish between passages which the poet evidently intended to serve as chronological guideposts and those which are intended merely to characterize a dramatic situation; if instead of looking for inconsistencies in the poem he will try to find out what the poet meant, it will not be difficult



to see that according to Vergil's plans Anchises died soon after landing in Sicily at the close of the sixth summer; that Aeneas remained there till the early part of the following summer; that he spent from two to four months at Carthage and returned to Sicily in the same summer in time to celebrate the anniversary of his father's death.

Thus it is possible to interpret the *septima aestas* of Book I and the *septima aestas* of Book V as literally true, without any inconsistency whatever. I believe that Vergil deliberately introduced them into the narrative as a literary necessity to show the duration of Aeneas' stay at Carthage; for the hero of his poem could live down an "adventure" of two or three months at Dido's court, driven there by circumstances beyond his control, but would be hopelessly ruined (as a literary character) by a prolonged period of forgetful self-indulgence there. Much of the derogatory criticism of the character of Aeneas, which is all too common in the writings of Vergilian scholars, will lose all force when once these facts are recognized.

## Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent direct to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

### QUADRIPEDANTE PUTREM

In view of the detailed study devoted to such fields as alliteration and rhythmic clausulae it is surprising that there should be no comprehensive work on ancient onomatopoeia, while the notes upon it in commentaries on Greek and Latin authors usually leave much to be desired.<sup>1</sup> The poets, however, ancient and modern, have not been so slow as their critics to recognize the importance of such an adjunct to their verse, and this has proved a form of decoration in which imitation has gone very far.

As a striking example of the employment of the device may be cited certain lines describing the galloping of horses, which it has seemed worth while to enumerate, without attempting more than a very summary analysis of the elements of word, sound, and rhythm by which the particular effect is produced.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest instance<sup>3</sup> of this kind is that in the simile in *Il.* 6,511:

ῥίμφα ἔ γούνα φέρει μετά τ' ἥθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων,

where Leaf well notes that "the effect depends not only on the rhythm, but partly on the nasal consonants and the ρ." Quite as striking is

<sup>1</sup> An exception is Norden's seventh *Anhang* in the second edition of his commentary on the sixth *Aeneid* (1916), 419-425, though his discussion treats the matter almost solely from the metrical standpoint. Evans's *Allitteratio Latina* (1921) loses a unique opportunity for showing the onomatopoeic ethos of different letters in alliterative combinations, e.g. the sputtering effects of *p* and *t* and the hiss of sibilants.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. [Longin.] *Proleg. in Hephaest. Ench.* p. 84, Westphal: διαφέρει δὲ μέτρον ὀνθοῦ. ὅλη μὲν γὰρ τοῖς μέτροις ἡ συλλαβὴ καὶ χωρὶς συλλαβῆς οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο μέτρον· ὁ δὲ ὀνθος γίνεται μὲν καὶ ἐν συλλαβαῖς, γίνεται δὲ καὶ χωρὶς συλλαβῆς. καὶ γὰρ ἐν κρότῳ ὅταν μὲν γὰρ τοὺς χαλκῆας ἴδωμεν τὰς σφύρας καταφέροντας, ἅμα τινὰ καὶ ὀνθὸν ἀκούομεν. καὶ ἵππων δὲ πορεία ὀνθος ἐνομήσθη καὶ κίνησις δακτύλων, κτλ.

<sup>3</sup> Similar but not identical is the effect in *Il.* 2,465-466, cited by Heyne-Wagner on Verg., *Aen.* 8, 596.

II. 10,535, which stresses the sound of the horses as being of as much importance as their motion:

ἵππων μ' ὠκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος οὐατα βάλλει.

Doubtless additional instances are to be found in Greek poetry, but my other examples are from Latin imitators of Homer and of each other. The Plautine line (*Capt.* 814):

*qui advehuntur quadrupedanti crucianti cantherio,*

is, of course, in quite a different metre from the Homeric passages, and is probably as independent of Homer as later Roman instances were of Plautus, but with Ennius the series of Latin imitations of the Homeric effect seems to begin:

*Ann.* 224: explorant Numidae totum; quatit ungula terram.

277: consequitur. summo sonitu quatit ungula terram.

439: it eques et plausu cava concutit ungula terram.

Lucretius is the next; 2,329-330:

et circumvolitant equites mediosque repente  
tramittunt valido quatientes impete campos.

Horace (*Sat.* 1, 1, 114) transfers the scene from the riding horse to chariot horses:

ut, cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus.<sup>4</sup>

But it is Vergil who in several passages crystallizes the Latin tradition for such lines:<sup>5</sup>

*Aen.* 4, 154-155: transmittunt cursu campos atque agmina cervi  
pulverulenta fuga glomerant montisque relinquunt.

8,596: quadripedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum.

11, 614-615. dant sonitu ingentem perfractaque quadripedantum  
pectora pectoribus rumpunt.

11,875: quadripedumque putrem cursu quatit ungula campum.

Of these passages the first betrays the influence of Lucretius; the second (with the almost identical fourth) is noted by Macrobius. *Sat.* 6, 1, 22 as based on the three already cited from Ennius. The next additions are by Ovid:

*Met.* 2, 154-155: Solis equi . . .

flammiferis implent, pedibusque repagula pulsant.

5,257: dura Medusaei quem praepectis ungula rupit.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1,512.

<sup>5</sup> The first instance applies, of course, to the similar motion of stags.



Altogether, then, the cases are many, but through the Latin ones, for the most part, are to be seen certain principles: (1) the selection of particular words, some but not all of which are determined by the context, such as *ungula*, *campus*, *terra*, *quatio* (and compounds); (2) the predominance of dactylic feet, the spondees occurring at the beginnings and ends of the passages in such a way as often to represent the appearance from, or disappearance into the distance, with consequent loss of the distinctness of the minor beats of the hoof; and (3) alliterative repetition of certain especially effective letters or groups of letters, notably *c* (also *q*, and in the Homeric passages *κ*), *p*, *t*, *r* and *l*, to express rapidity of motion, while *d*, *mp*, *nc*, *ng*, and *nt* represent the ring of the hoofs and the reverberation of the ground.<sup>8</sup>

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#### HORACE: ODES 1, 34

The following from the *Springfield Republican* of June 5, 1925, may illustrate Horace's lightning from a clear sky: "A 'bolt from the blue' is so rare a phenomenon that 1925 may stand out in meteorological history through the killing of a girl in France, Tuesday, while tending her sheep on a mountain side, by a flash of lightning from an absolutely cloudless sky. A loud clap of thunder accompanied the flash and startled the villagers, but there was no further disturbance. The chance of such an occurrence, however, is not sufficient to make the most nervous afraid of sunny days."

RUSSEL M. GEER

BROWN UNIVERSITY

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 3 (1889), 756-757.



## Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, for the Southeastern States; A. T. Walker, the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Mr. Walter A. Edwards, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news — occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

### The Mediaeval Academy of America

The Mediaeval Academy of America has recently been incorporated with the purpose of conducting and promoting research, publication, and instruction in all departments of the letters, arts, science, and life of the Middle Ages. The president is Professor E. K. Rand, of Harvard; the vice-presidents are Professors Manly (Chicago), Haskins (Harvard), Willard (Colorado); the treasurer is Mr. John Nicholas Brown; the clerk, Dr. Ralph Adams Cram. The council consists of Mr. G. A. Plimpton of New York, and Professors P. S. Allen (Chicago), C. H. Beeson (Chicago), G. R. Coffman (Boston), G. H. Gerould (Princeton), L. J. Paetow (California), A. K. Porter (Harvard), W. W. Rockwell (Union Theological Seminary), J. H. Ryan (Catholic University), J. S. P. Tatlock (Harvard), J. W. Thompson (Chicago), Karl Young (Yale). The officers include business men and artists as well as students of ancient and modern languages and literatures, medieval religion, philosophy, history, art, and education; and an equally broad membership is intended. A considerable number of Fellows, and of Corresponding Fellows in foreign countries, will be elected later.

The Academy maintains a quarterly journal, *Speculum*, of which the managing editor is Dr. F. P. Magoun, Jr., Harvard University, and in which it means to publish not only the results of research,

but also articles of broader character. The Academy proposes many other functions. One of the chief is that of serving as a clearing-house for information and a help to coöperation among those concerned in all the various sides of medieval study. Hitherto many a student of medieval literature, for example, has been more aware of researches in nineteenth-century literature than of those on medieval history or philosophy. No studies have been pursued in a more hole-and-corner fashion. In this movement toward coöperation many hundreds of persons all over the world have already signified their interest. Enthusiastic response has been found in Britain and Germany; in France, especially through the Association Guillaume Budé; and in Belgium through Professor Maurice de Wulf of Louvain, who during his stay at Harvard aided the inception of the Academy. Persons in any part of the world who are pursuing original research on any aspect of the Middle Ages are invited to send their names and information as to their subjects of study to the Clerk of the Academy, who acts as its secretary. The Academy will maintain relations with religious organizations, such as the Benedictine order, concerned with medieval studies. Large coöperative enterprises are particularly needed in the medieval field, and already members of the Academy are taking a hand in several such projects. Later it hopes to grant much-needed financial aid to investigations on the Middle Ages and to publish their results, but it has no funds for such purposes at present. Its usefulness will obviously be increased when it is able to establish a suitable local habitation, with a library, accessible records and archives, and meeting-quarters.

The Middle Ages on their literary and artistic, their historical, religious, and intellectual sides appeal to many persons of cultivation as well as to special students. The Academy has been greatly encouraged already by the large generosity of individuals, but it desires equally the support of a large number of smaller contributors. There are various forms of membership in the Academy. Any person anywhere in the world interested in becoming a member may obtain further information from the office of the Academy, Room 312, 248 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

#### Indiana

*Fort Wayne.* — The teachers of the Latin Department of Central High School, of which Miss Mary Harrah is in charge, gave a novel

entertainment for the Latin students and their parents on March 18th. The first number was a group of Latin songs sung by a vested choir composed of twenty-four girls. The group included "Gaudeamus Igitur," "Adeste Fideles," "Duc, Duc, Remos Duc," "Lauriger Horatius," "Laudes Atque Carmina," and "Te Cano, Patria." Next was a group of living pictures of characters familiar to the Latin student. A boy dressed in artist's smock and cap recited verses while the pictures were exhibited. A frame was arranged and colored lights were thrown to give the appearance of paintings. The subjects were "Caesar," "Catiline," "A Roman Schoolboy's Flogging," "Cornelia and Her Jewels," "Fair Helen," and "Aeneas' Escape from Troy."

Next came a one-act play, Miss Grace Ott's "In Gallia," depicting two American students in a French restaurant. The first, who has studied Latin, has a great advantage over the second, who has not, because through his Latin he is able to make the French maid understand his order. The Vestal Virgin drill was given by ten girls who were attractive in costumes of white with gold borders. Musical numbers were given between the acts.

After the program an informal reception was held and an opportunity was afforded to meet the parents, who expressed hearty appreciation of the evening's entertainment.

#### Massachusetts

*Cambridge.*—Professor Gilbert Murray of Oxford University will come to Harvard next fall as the first incumbent of the Charles Eliot Norton Chair of Poetry, established last year through the generosity of C. C. Stillman, '98, of New York City.

Professor Murray will be in residence at Harvard from the beginning of the next academic year until Christmas, 1926. He will give eight or nine formal lectures on the classical tradition in poetry, and has expressed willingness and desire to help in carrying out the purpose of the gift by such tutoring and informal conversations with students as may be thought desirable.

Under the provisions of Mr. Stillman's gift, the term poetry will be interpreted in the broadest sense and include poetic expression in language, music, painting, sculpture, and architecture. The appointments to the new chair will be made annually, and, although an incumbent may be reappointed, ordinarily a period of five years must elapse between two years of service by the same man.

**Wisconsin**

*Milwaukee.*—During the first half of the present school year, the Marquette University Classical Club has seen its way clear to the attainment of many objectives which had previously been little more than dreams. The first of these was the formation of a Latin Conversation group, which has been meeting weekly under the supervision of the Faculty Director, Professor Allan P. Farrell, S. J. During the meetings many interesting and animated discussions have been held, not only concerning the relative merits of a number of the classic authors, but also in regard to many topics of general interest to the world of today. This group is continuing its activity the second semester, and another group of similar nature has been formed.

Two other groups, called "Reading Circles," have been organized for the purpose of stimulating interest in the Latin language and literature. These groups meet regularly and read some of the less widely known Latin works, as well as some of comparatively recent date. At present the groups are reading *Ad Alpes*, a novel by Professor Herbert C. Nutting, of the University of California. As soon as this is finished, Sallust's Catiline will be read and discussed, in order to present a contrast to the Catilinian orations of Cicero.

One of the original activities of the Club, the publication of a *Classical Bulletin*, has been brought to a high plane. Starting from two or three pages of mimeographed material, the *Bulletin* has gradually increased to a four-page printed publication, issued monthly. It contains articles of general classical interest, discussions of Latin and Greek authors and their writings, original poems on classic themes, verse translations of classic poets, Latin essays, character sketches, dialogues, and comments upon current items of classical interest. It has a circulation of about five hundred.

The meetings which have been held are an indication of the widespread interest in the work of the Club. Every program consists of four or five student papers, including both Latin and English essays, and a speaker of prominence, either a member of the faculty or some one outside of the University who is well versed in the classics. These talks have served not only to interest and entertain the members, but also to give cause for discussion, which is the surest indication of interest and a most certain sign of thought.

## Book Reviews

*T. Macci Plauti Mostellaria*. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by EDGAR H. STURTEVANT. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925.

The plan of this edition is similar to that of the same editor's *Andria* (American Book Co., 1914) and is equally well executed. Since the book is primarily intended for college freshmen who are making their first acquaintance with Roman comedy, every effort has been exerted to provide what Professor Sturtevant calls "a straightforward, readable text" without any hint of emendations or supplements.

The author states that he has "tried to tell only what the average student needs to be told while preparing his lesson," and in fact the notes are models of brevity. In particular, the comments dealing with early and colloquial forms not only represent the latest scientific opinion in such matters, but are made so plain and simple, in spite of their compactness, that even undergraduates can understand them, as I have already discovered by classroom use. Mythological or historical allusions, literary criticism, dramatic technique, stage business, and the like are mainly conspicuous by their absence or at the best are reduced to the smallest possible compass. This is, of course, in accordance with the editor's theory and plan, but seems to me to have been carried out too relentlessly. At this point the book suffers by comparison with Fay's edition (Allyn and Bacon, 1902), which, however, went too far in the other direction.

The results of long and successful teaching experience and of business-like avoidance of difficulties are everywhere in evidence. For example, since many teachers choose to omit 11. 85-156, topics which have been discussed in the course of these lines receive a second treatment at their first recurrence beyond this passage. The editor is well aware that many (he might have said "most") of the comments upon unusual forms and variations from Ciceronian syntax will not be remembered from one presentation, and so at the second and third occurrence he has "supplied a cross reference preceded by a hint which will save the good student from hunting out what he already knows" (*italics mine*). An inserted sheet lists



and translates words which are not contained in the shorter Latin dictionaries — an extraordinarily useful device.

The Introduction necessarily deals with such familiar topics as "The Development of Tragedy," "Euripides," "Old Attic Comedy," "Aristophanes," "New Attic Comedy," etc. But as in his *Andria*, Professor Sturtevant has not contented himself with merely reproducing more or less conventional general statements. He has made them more concrete and vivid by devoting six pages to a translation of sufficient selections from Euripides' *Helen* to give a fairly adequate idea of the character of that play. Likewise, nearly eight pages are given to Aristophanes' *Clouds*, and five pages to Menander's *Arbitrants*. I can testify from personal experience that students find such outlines both interesting and enlightening.

In editing an author like Plautus it is inevitable that there should be many opportunities for differences of opinion either in constituting the text or in interpreting it. Thus, in vs. 285 I would accept Schoell's emendation (*sibi* for *tibi*; adopted by Lindsay), and I would follow Fay in printing *opprobarier* (for *opprobrarier*) in vs. 301 and in retaining *h* of the MSS in *h-ecquid* (vs. 319), *a-h-is* (vs. 331), *h-ecquis* (vs. 339), and *ho-ho-hocellus* (vs. 325) in mimicry of drunkenness. Also, in vs. 870 Sturtevant takes *hinc* as equivalent to *mihi*, but Fay's interpretation seems to me to be preferable that a deictic gesture indicated a reference to the left (*i.e.* thieving) hand. On p. 17 I wonder how Professor Sturtevant came to give 444-391 B. C. as dates for the life of Aristophanes. Of course, the date of neither his birth nor his death is definitely known, but 391 B. C. for the latter is clearly too early. In his *Andria* (p. 10) he chose the more usual guess (386 B. C.). But, after all, these matters and many others which could be mentioned are of small importance. Anyone who wishes to initiate his students into the field of Roman comedy by means by Plautus instead of Terence, can hardly go wrong by using Sturtevant's edition of the *Mostellaria*.

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

ROY C. FLICKINGER

*A Primer of Medieval Latin: An Anthology of Prose and Poetry.*

By CHARLES H. BEESON. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1925. Pp. 389.

The appearance of this long-awaited work is gratifying to all who are interested in medieval lore. The book ought to prove stimulat-

ing to that section of the enlightened public which is beginning to dabble in the history and antiquities of the Middle Ages; and its value will undoubtedly soon be discovered alike by the student and the professional pedagogue. A somewhat careful preliminary examination of the volume on the part of the reviewer has resulted in his decision to make use of it as a class textbook during the current academic year.

In the Preface, the author has indicated in clear, and sometimes epigrammatic, language something of the relation of medieval Latin to its classical antecedents, and he has, we trust, slain more than one goblin of popular disbelief. The Introduction goes somewhat carefully into the matters of vocabulary, orthography, forms, syntax, and meter. Here it might be suggested by way of improvement that a more lavish employment of examples for the purpose of illustration would have imparted a greater degree of clarity to the points involved, but apparently Professor Beeson was fearful of overloading the work. In the case of an acknowledged *Primer*, however, it would seem that everything ought to be made so plain "that he who runneth may read." Quite properly, the author has held fast to the classical system of orthography throughout.

The notes, which are placed conveniently at the foot of the page, supply the meanings of all words which are of late date or bear a non-classical significance. Occasionally the notes provide comments: a pleasing feature is their furnishing of references to the not infrequent Scriptural allusions. Such words, however, as repeatedly occur are relegated to a Vocabulary at the end of the book. A few of these, one feels, ought to have had their vowel-quantities indicated for the good of the student.

It is a pleasure to find that the *Primer* is, in the main, adapted to the needs of very ordinary learners. Thus, one finds that the earliest selections in the text are very easy to read, and have a word-order approximately that of English. Indeed, the first eighty pages may be spoken of as progressive in respect to difficulties. The remainder of the excerpts, which are both numerous and inclusive, are arranged in more or less chronological order.

Professor Beeson has — one thinks, wisely — delimited the mediæval period as one extending from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries. Within this, "an attempt has been made to include as many of the great names as possible from Cassiodorus to Roger Bacon; to give

specimens of various literary types; to present the widest possible view of the manifold aspects of Medieval culture; and to give examples of the different kinds and styles of Latin."

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*The Commentaries of C. Julius Caesar on the Civil War.* Edited by CHARLES E. MOBERLY, M.A. New illustrated edition, with an introduction by Hugh Last, M.A. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1925; pp. xlviii+227+Vocabulary. \$1.75.

Those who are beguiled by the fresh appearance of this volume — *arido modo pumice expolitum* — into expecting a thorough revision of Moberly's edition of the *De Bello Civili*, now just fifty years old, are certain to be disappointed. At the front they will discover an introduction altogether new; at the back they will find appended a vocabulary, also new. But the text and the notes included between these two sections of fresh material are, as far as I can discover, page for page and line for line identical with those of the edition of 1876. They are merely reprints from the old plates. This means that a number of minor misprints in the notes have been allowed to stand. More than that, it means that the references in the notes are antiquated: no advantage has been taken of the researches of more recent scholars — Meyer, Groebe, Stoffel, Hardy, Holmes, Sihler, *et al.* — who have shed much new light since 1876 on the interpretation of Caesar's and Pompey's careers.

The Introduction of some 40 pages, written by Hugh Last of St. John's College, Oxford, is a reprint, very slightly modified and at one point supplemented, of the same writer's introduction to the school text, *Caesar's Civil War, Book III* (Partly in the Original and partly in F. P. Long's Translation), edited by W. C. Compton, C. E. Freeman, and Hugh Last (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923). It treats quite adequately, though with a distinct Caesarian bias, of the life and character of Caesar, the place of the Civil War in Roman history, the events leading up to the outbreak of the war, the operations of 49 B.C. in Italy, Spain, Gaul (Massilia), and Africa, and the campaigning of 48 B.C. in Greece, ending with Pharsalia. At the close of this section are four pages of compact print dealing with Caesar's army — the legions, the legionary officers, dress and equip-

ment, pay, the auxiliary troops, the standards, and the legion in battle. (The only misprints observed are in the note on p. xxiv, where "January 12" should be read instead of "January 21," and on p. xxvii, where "40,000 men" is apparently an error for "70,000 men.")

The Vocabulary, which occupies 48 (unnumbered) pages, is very concise, in accordance with a practice followed by the Clarendon Press in many of their recent school texts. To some this policy will, not unreasonably, be distasteful. Often there is given for the Latin word just one meaning, designed to be applicable directly to the use of the word in the *De Bello Civili*. For example, *fundo* is translated only by "defeat," *mollis* by "slight," *odor* by "stench," *percipio* by "receive." There is no attempt to exhibit derivation.

A distinctly new feature of the book is the insertion of illustrations and maps among the pages of the unchanged text. There are altogether some twenty excellent half-tone plates of historic sites and *objets d'art* and ten small maps and plans of campaigns. A map of northern Greece, from sea to sea, would make a desirable addition.

It is quite unlikely that this revamped work will inherit the wide patronage which its predecessors enjoyed, at least on this side of the Atlantic. Secondary-school teachers will find the notes too diffuse and generally unsuited for the use of their classes; and the vocabulary may not be altogether to their tastes. The advanced student of Caesar, on the other hand, seeking new light, will invest his money in the latest edition of Kraner and Hofmann.

JOHN W. SPAETH, JR.

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*The Close of the Second Punic War.* By H. E. BUTLER. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1925. Pp. 182. \$.90.

This is another of the "Clarendon Latin and Greek Series," partly in the original and partly in translation, edited by R. W. Livingstone. This volume consists of Livy, Books XXIX and XXX, with introduction, notes, vocabulary, and an index of the principal proper names. The Introduction is well written, runs to thirty-three pages, and includes the topics: "Carthage and Rome," "The Punic Wars," and "Titus Livius." There are maps of Italy and Carthage. The notes are sensible and useful and rather full. It would seem that, if the reading of the Introduction and the sections in translation

should be actually assigned rather than optimistically taken for granted, the young student would gain more grasp of the whole narrative than is commonly gained in selections with synopses only of omitted portions (a few of which are also included here).

The books chosen, themselves have a certain desirable unity, owing to the prominence of Scipio throughout and consciousness of the approaching dénouement in which the two great leaders are dramatically pitted against each other. There is an epic tone in many passages, the invented speeches have a more convincing eloquence than usually in Roman rhetoric, and there is even the love-motive involving Syphax and Masinissa for pupils fresh from *Aeneid* I and IV. The Latin also is less stylistically involved and easier than in some selections from Livy often read. All in all it seems a happy choice for elementary purposes.

There is a slip in English expression in the last sentence of the first paragraph on page 9 and, I think, in the first sentence in the second paragraph on page 23. *Ad* in the last line on page 85 should be corrected to *ab*. One should not perhaps blame an editor for errors in a translation from which he quotes. But I cannot forbear to object to "as on a conspicuous monument" rather than "in a clear record" as a rendition of *in illustri monumento*, quoted on page 24 from the Loeb translation by Foster (and defended by Foster in *T.A.P.A.* 42, lxxvii). And *inceptu* in the same passage means "in the beginning," not "in the conception." The translation in the body of the text is by the editor of course and better, in the reviewer's opinion, than this excerpt from the Loeb translator.

CLYDE MURLEY

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

*Classical Studies.* By J. W. MACKAIL. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926. Pp. vi+253.

Mackail's *Latin Literature*, his *Lectures on Greek Poetry*, and his translations from the *Greek Anthology*, have created an appetite. Any book that bears the name Mackail is sure to command respectful attention in America. We have learned to expect from him maturity of judgment, an exquisite sense of life values, and a style that renews one's faith in the immediate inspiration of the Muses. Each new book that bears his name brings us again into the atmosphere of a certain Rhodian temple where an ode of Pindar was



written on marble in letters of gold. We are glad to believe that a long and faithful devotion to the Greek and Latin Classics has had no small part in creating such a style.

His latest book, that bears the title *Classical Studies*, is made up of twelve addresses, eight of which might bear the caption, *The Value of the Classics*, if that title had not already been pre-empted by Dean West. The four remaining essays discuss "Penelope in the Odyssey," "Virgil's Italy," "The Virgilian Underworld," and "The Last Great Roman Historian." This last, a presentation of Ammianus Marcellinus, arouses the thought that the time will come when some compiler will assemble for us a history of Latin literature from such essays as Myers' *Virgil*, Kirby Flower Smith's *Martial the Epigrammatist*, and Lang's letter to *Quintus Horatius Flaccus*. Tennyson's "Lucretius" might also be included. Schanz may collect for us the facts, but it is expecting too much of one individual that he will have the imagination to enter into sympathy with all the great men of letters that Rome produced.

It was the first thought of the reviewer that he would dig out a dozen nuggets and present them as samples of the quality of the book under discussion. It is perhaps better for the reader to have the satisfaction of making his own discoveries. The temptation, however, can not be resisted of quoting one sentence: "Hundreds of our soldiers had a pocket Horace as part of their field-kit, and thousands more had verses of Horace in their memories, to flash at intervals on that inward eye which is not only the bliss of solitude, but an uplifting and sustaining force in labour, weariness, and danger."

CHARLES N. SMILEY

GRINNELL COLLEGE.

## Recent Books

[Compiled by Joseph W. Hewitt, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.]

BALDWIN, RT. HON. STANLEY. *The Classics and the Plain Man*. London: Murray. 7d.

CARMODY, SISTER W. M. *The Subjunctive in Tacitus*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Pp. 195. \$2.00.

DIO, *Roman History*. With an English translation by Earnest Cary. In nine vols. Vol. VIII. (Loeb Classical Library). New York: Putnam. Pp. 448. \$2.50.

GREEN, C. A. F., Editor. *Test Examinations in Latin*. London: Methuen. Pp. 64. 1s 3d.

HORACE, *Odes*. Done into English verse by Hugh Macnaghten. Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d.

JACKSON, MRS. N. *A Student in Sicily*. Illustrated. London: Lane. Pp. 278. 12s. 6d.

MCALLISTER, J. G. *Borderlands of the Mediterranean*. Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication. Pp. 308. \$2.50.

PARRY, R. ST. JOHN. *Henry Jackson, O. M.* Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d.

PILLSBURY, E. H. *A Key to Latin Prose Composition*. For the use of teachers. New York: Oxford. Pp. 76. \$1.50.

REYNOLDS, P. K. B. *The Vigiles of Imperial Rome*. Oxford University Press. Pp. 133. 8s. 6d.

*Roma Ruinae*. Portfolio of 20 photographic reproductions. New York: Stechert. \$3.00.

SEABY, A. W. *The Roman Alphabet and its Derivatives*: a reproduction of the lettering on the Trajan column engraved on wood. New York: Scribner. Pp. 75. \$2.50.

TACITUS, *Histories*. With an English translation by Clifford H. Moore. In two vols. Vol. I (Books I-III). (Loeb Classical Library). New York: Putnam. Pp. 497. \$2.50.

VERGIL, *Georgics, III and IV*. Edited with introduction, text, and notes by F. J. Plaistowe. Pp. 186. Univ. Tutorial Pr. 2s.

WATT, A. F. and HAYES, B. J. *Matriculation Selections from Latin Authors*. Fifth edition. Univ. Tutorial Pr. Pp. 372. 4s.